

ABC of History

CIVILIZATION IN TRANSITION (1789-1870)

H. C. THOMAS *and* W. A. HAMM



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The A B C of History
Volume II

Civilization in Transition

(1789-1870)

By H. C. THOMAS and W. A. HAMM



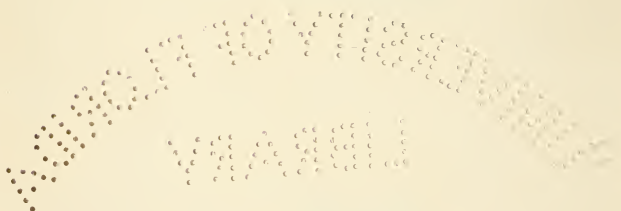
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FOREWORD

THIS is the second of three volumes of the *A B C of History*. The first, *The Foundations of Modern Civilization*, traced man's progress from earliest times down to the middle of the eighteenth century. No attempt was made to give details or make a connected narrative of the history of any one country, but rather to show the origin and development of modern institutions and the contributions of various peoples and periods to present day civilization. The volume closed with a survey of conditions as they were in Europe of the old regime. This volume deals with the transition from the old regime to modern times. It attempts to show how the great revolutions,—the Intellectual, the French and the Industrial,—have brought a new world into existence. It brings the history of the various countries down to approximately 1870 and closes with a description of two factors that have been common to all countries and of immense importance in modern life,—Science and the Labor Movement. The third volume will bring the story up to the present, tracing the growth of democracy, the development of imperialism, the embitterment of international relations, culminating in the world war of 1914, and the efforts to build a new world on the ruins which the war left.

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CIVILIZATION IN TRANSITION

CHAPTER I

THE SCIENTIFIC AND INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTIONS

THE hundred years from 1750 to 1850 were years of change. While great changes had taken place before, the world in 1750 was much the same as it had been for centuries. Mighty ferments were at work, however, destined to produce changes so great as to justify the term revolution. The century was indeed a century of revolution,—revolution in thought, in government, in mode of life. It is the purpose of this volume to tell the story of these revolutions,—the Intellectual Revolution, the French Revolution and, most important of all, the Industrial Revolution,—out of which the modern world has developed.

Looking back from the vantage point of the twentieth century, the conditions in Europe of the eighteenth century seem intolerable. In eighteenth century Europe restrictions in commerce, absolutism in government, persecution in religion, privileged classes in society, were everywhere the rule. Our wonder is not that the people rose in revolt and shuffled off the old order but that the revolution was so long in coming. We should try to remember, however, that, to the people of the eighteenth century, born in the midst of conditions that seem intolerable to us, living with them, accustomed to them, they seemed perfectly natural, and inevitable. Man tends to accept things as they are. He is slow to change and he is inclined to regard the world he lives in as the best of all possible worlds, incapable of improvement; but despite this

tendency of the people of a given era to accept things as they are, the world does move.

Fortunately for civilization there are always pioneers in thought, critics of the old era and prophets of a new one, who cry out against abuses and help prepare the way for progress. So it was in the eighteenth century. A group of writers attacked not only the old institutions, but also the fundamental intellectual concepts on which they were based. This rise of a spirit of protest and criticism is called the Intellectual Revolution. Never, perhaps, was there a more concentrated attack upon an established order and its philosophy. The thought of the period is especially characterized by its attack upon authority and its emphasis upon reason as the sole basis of truth. This phase of eighteenth century philosophy can be traced to the earlier and also contemporary developments in the field of natural science.

Therefore, before we take up the examination of the Intellectual Revolution, it will be necessary to review the progress of natural science.

THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE, 1400-1800

We have seen that throughout the Middle Ages little was added to man's knowledge of the physical world and the laws governing it. Fantastic notions developed concerning the simplest things and these ideas prevailed generation after generation. A great deal of what the ancient Greeks knew had been lost to the civilization of western Europe, and while in Moorish Spain there occurred a noteworthy development of natural science, it found its way but slowly into the general culture of western Europe. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon, far in advance of his time, passed on to posterity the twin principles of the scientific method—observe, experiment. We have seen that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was a remarkable rebirth of interest in the art and literature of the ancients which incidentally revealed to the scholars of the day the knowledge of the Greeks concerning

astronomy, medicine and mathematics. Printing had been invented and scholars could scatter their ideas throughout the world. In the meantime explorations and discoveries added to man's knowledge of the earth and awakened a desire to know more of its workings. Before any great progress could be made in natural science, however, man's mind had to be freed from the blinding influence of an over-anxious respect for tradition and authority. In philosophy, Aristotle, in astronomy, Ptolemy, and in medicine, Galen, were supposed to have said the last word, and all who disagreed were frowned upon. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a group of investigators formulated new theories concerning the earth and its relation to the heavenly bodies; and Francis Bacon and René Descartes developed and advocated the scientific method.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626), Lord Verulan, Chancellor of England, lawyer, essayist, philosopher, scientist, severely criticized the old deductive method of arriving at knowledge and preached incessantly in behalf of the inductive method. The deductive method started from general principles found in the authorities and by logic arrived at the truth or falsity of a particular proposition. Bacon asserted that no general conclusion should be formed unless supported by the observed facts of nature. The inductive method was to observe, experiment, and then draw general conclusions or formulate laws. For experimentation accurate instruments were needed, and, therefore, the true scientist would equip himself with precise tools of research and use them carefully and diligently.

The much traveled and versatile Frenchman, Descartes (1596-1660), preached the same doctrine even more strongly. Theologian, philosopher, scientist, mathematician, founder of analytical geometry, he started his investigations with doubt. He doubted everything—even his own existence—and then sought to build up a body of knowledge based upon the observed phenomena of nature which, irrespective of authority, would appeal to his own reason. The method of observation and experimentation had been used by a large number of

thinkers and investigators in the preceding century, and, indeed, in ancient times, but Bacon and Descartes did so much to popularize it and force its general acceptance, that they may be called the founders of the modern scientific spirit and method.

This inductive method is the one now used in all scientific investigation and its use has resulted in a marvelous development of our knowledge of the physical world. It has stimulated a passionate regard for truth and a spirit of free investigation which has given to the world much that is good and nothing that is bad. A student of social problems has thus expressed the value of scientific method, "A greater gain to the world than all the growth of scientific knowledge is the growth of the scientific spirit, with its courage and serenity, its disciplined conscience, its intellectual morality, its habitual response to any disclosure of the truth." It has taken centuries for the scientific method to win its way and occupy the triumphant position it holds today. Even the ardent Bacon himself neglected at times his own council and advocated theories which a little experimentation would have proven to be false. It has recently been suggested that the same scientific method applied to law, philosophy, politics, government and society, might bring about equally important changes in these spheres of human activity and knowledge.

A full century before the formulation and advocacy of the scientific method by Bacon and Descartes, it had been employed by a host of thinkers and investigators, particularly in the field of astronomy. The labors of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo and Newton, combined to make astronomy the first of the exact sciences. Throughout the Middle Ages, the great authority in physics and mathematics was Ptolemy, who, in the second century of the Christian era, had gathered together the knowledge of the ancient Greeks. According to the Ptolemaic system, the universe was geocentric—that is, the earth was at its center and the sun, moon, stars and planets revolved about the earth in fixed orbits every twenty-four hours. This theory, since it seemed to explain the rising

and setting of the sun and stars and was also in harmony with a literal interpretation of the Bible, was universally accepted.

In 1543 Nicolaus Koppernigk, better known as Copernicus, published a book on astronomy. Copernicus, a native of Poland, was primarily a mathematician, not an astronomer, but his *Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies* is one of the world's epoch-making books. In it he rejected the Ptolemaic or geocentric theory of the universe and advanced the theory that the sun was at the center of our planetary system and that the earth revolved about it,—in other words, the heliocentric theory. Today no one rejects the Copernican theory, but in the preface to his book which he dedicated to Pope Paul III, Copernicus said: "I can easily conceive, most Holy Father, that as soon as some people learn that in this book which I have written concerning the revolutions of the heavenly bodies I ascribe certain motions to the earth, they will cry out at once that I and my theory should be rejected. The contempt which I had to fear because of the novelty and apparent absurdity of my idea nearly induced me to abandon utterly the work I had begun." The theory met with the scorn and ridicule he anticipated. Even Bacon and Descartes criticized it. The reception accorded to his ideas illustrates the fight that scientists had to make against authority, prejudice, and the traditional view of things.

Copernicus did not prove his theory, although, of course, he advanced many arguments in its behalf. Before it could be proved, the necessary instruments for astronomical observation had to be developed. This work was reserved in part for the great instrument maker and observer, Tycho Brahe.

Brahe (1546-1601), a Dane, spent most of his life in the famous observatory of Uraniborg (Hveen), which King Frederick II of Denmark had established for him, making and recording careful observations of the heavens, developing and improving various astronomical instruments. He lacked the genius, however, for formulating his recorded observations into a system. This work was reserved for one of his young assistants, Johan Kepler.

Kepler (1571-1630) was born in Württemberg, and was intended by his parents for the Protestant ministry, but in 1596 he published a defense and explanation of the Copernican theory for which he was taken to task by the Protestant theologians who condemned his teachings as heretical. He journeyed to the Jesuit institution at Gratz where he was appointed lecturer on mathematics, but shortly afterwards became Tycho's assistant and upon his death was appointed Court Astronomer. He devoted his attention to explaining the recorded observations of Brahe. After more than twenty years of mathematical speculation, which were greatly facilitated after 1614 by Napier's invention of logarithms, he established the important fact that planets do not travel in a circle but in an ellipse, and that the sun is in one focus. Kepler also established two other fundamental astronomical laws concerning the form and size of planetary orbits which go by his name. Because of the importance of his laws he has sometimes been called the founder of modern astronomy.

The fame of Kepler, however, has been somewhat obscured by that of his friend and contemporary, Galileo Galilei (1564-1642). This great scientist "in his whole point of view and habit of mind embodied the attitude and spirit of modern science. He was keenly alert in observing, analyzing, and reflecting on natural phenomena, eager and convincing in his expositions, sceptical and intolerant of mere authority, whether in science, philosophy, or theology." While still a young man he made revolutionary discoveries in regard to pendulum vibrations and the velocity of falling bodies. He constructed a telescope by means of which he discovered sun spots and the mountains of the moon.

Galileo accepted the Copernican hypothesis, but none of his astronomical devices were sufficient to confirm it (indeed, it could not be confirmed until the velocity and aberration of light had been established). In defense of the theory he published his famous *Dialogue on the Copernican and Ptolemaic Systems* in which he traveled outside the limits of physics and mathematics and argued that the accepted interpretation of

some passages of the Bible was wrong. He was summoned before the Inquisition, which condemned his writings as heretical and prohibited him from further teaching of the subject. "The proposition that the sun is in the center of the world and immovable from its place is absurd, philosophically false, and formally heretical; because it is expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture," was the decree of the Inquisition.

The spirit of the age is illustrated by the condemnation of Kepler by the Protestant theologians, of Galileo by the Catholic, and by the fate of two other scientists who suffered even more severely at the hands of the church. Servetus, a Spanish physician, who anticipated Harvey in discovering the circulation of the blood, was condemned by Calvin and his followers and burnt at the stake. Giordano Bruno, an Italian scientist, met a similar fate at the hands of the Catholics towards the close of the sixteenth century. It should be noted that the Church, both Protestant and Catholic, has always insisted that in all these cases the men were condemned not so much because of their scientific beliefs or teachings but because they were entertaining religious views contrary to those in authority. They were condemned in short, not as scientists, but as heretics.

The work of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, and Galileo was not given a firm mathematical basis until Newton in 1687 published his famous *Principia*, in which he explained the theory of universal gravitation. This is one of the most important discoveries of human thought. It has been said that Newton was lead to the formulation of his theory by observing an apple fall. Why did the apple fall? Why does not the moon fall to the earth; the earth to the sun? What keeps the starry firmament in place? Newton, using the result of Galileo's experiments with falling bodies, supplied the answer. Every mass attracts or pulls toward it every other mass. This force or pull is gravity. The heavier earth pulls the apple toward it; the sun pulls the earth towards its center but the earth is also pulled away from the sun by the more distant stars and does not fall toward the sun, but revolves around it. So with

the other heavenly bodies. Newton's formula for gravity is that the attraction "varies as the product of the masses, and inversely as the square of the distance." This theory furnished the key to subsequent astronomical discoveries and is of fundamental importance in the physical sciences. When scientists explain the tide or weigh some distant star they are depending upon the Newtonian theory of gravity. It was applied by Newton's friend and disciple Halley in charting the course of comets and in predicting the time of their return. Halley's comet verified his prediction in 1835 and 1910, and a similar prediction by Halley awaits verification in the year 2255. The mathematical accuracy of Newton's law of gravity has been challenged in the twentieth century by the German scientist, Einstein, with his theory of relativity.

The formulation of the law of gravity is Newton's greatest achievement. In addition he formulated the laws of motion, improved the telescope, studied the phenomena of light and suggested the corpuscular theory of light (which was supplanted in the nineteenth century by the undulatory or wave theory), discussed the binomial theorem and shares with his German contemporary, Leibnitz, the invention of differential calculus, so necessary in modern engineering. The modesty of Newton's genius is exemplified in his statement, "If I have seen farther than Descartes, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants."

In this review of the work of five men, extending over two centuries, we have seen the oriental, and medieval pseudo-science of astrology transformed into the most exact of sciences, astronomy. A similar but somewhat slower transformation was taking place with regard to alchemy and medicine; other pioneers were opening up undreamt of vistas of research, and laying the foundation for new sciences.

In the same year (1543) that Copernicus published his book discrediting the Ptolemaic system, another book was published destined to overthrow another group of ideas and a system of knowledge as old as that of Ptolemy. This book was *On the Structure of the Human Body*, by Vesalius, a Belgian born in

Brussels in 1514. Vesalius was an anatomist who revised the old method of teaching the subject, which consisted chiefly in reading and commenting upon the work of Galen, the great encyclopedist of the medical knowledge of the ancients. Vesalius disregarded Galen's book and conducted experiments of his own. In short, he applied the scientific method to anatomy, the study of the animal frame. His method was to dissect bodies, human as well as animal, and examine the structure of bone and muscle. His book is also important in that it contains excellent drawings of his dissections.

Early in the following century the work of Vesalius was complemented by that of the Englishman, William Harvey, who used the same experimental method to determine the functions of the parts and structures that the dissections of Vesalius and his successors revealed. His researches led him to believe in the circulation of the blood. This important discovery laid the foundations of modern physiology.

Four years after Harvey's death, Malpighi, an Italian scientist, by use of the microscope, actually observed the flow of blood from artery to vein, and a few years later another great microscopist, Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723), demonstrated the capillary connection between arteries and veins and supplied the proof of what Harvey had assumed. These and other microscopists made a wide variety of discoveries. Malpighi foreshadowed the cell theory which became current in the nineteenth century and Leeuwenhoek by his painstaking observations of minute living bodies in water (*animalculae*, he called them) was led to question the accepted theory of the spontaneous origin of life,—a theory which the nineteenth century completely rejected.

The invention of the microscope, the work of several inventors in the seventeenth century, brings to our attention an indispensable condition for scientific progress—availability of accurate instruments and apparatus. Mathematics, important aid of all the sciences had been perfected. Geometry, analytical geometry, trigonometry, logarithms, were at the disposal of the scientists. The development of mathematics along

with progress in astronomy made possible the reform of the calendar in 1582 by Pope Gregory, which corrected an error of ten days. The Gregorian Calendar, as it is called, was not immediately adopted in Protestant countries because of religious jealousy (England did not adopt it until 1752); but it is now in general use throughout the civilized world. Dates reckoned under the Julian calendar are commonly called old style; those reckoned under the Gregorian calendar, new style. For dates listed before 1582 it is necessary to add ten days, that is, January 1, 1581, old style, is January 11, 1591, new style.

Another important result of the same forces was the improvement in map making. Toward the close of the sixteenth century Mercator (1512-1594) made his famous geometrical projection which preserves angles, but causes areas remote from the equator to appear out of all proportion to their size. The explorations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries created the necessity for better and more accurate maps and this in turn was one of the reasons for the intense interest in astronomy during the same period.

Enough has already been said of the use made of the telescope to indicate its importance. Its origin, like that of many important inventions, is obscure, but it is commonly ascribed to a group of Dutch spectacle makers (Zacharias or "Jansen" and Lippershey) who first made telescopes to sell as toys. Galileo heard of it in 1609 and after making improvements used it for his various astronomical discoveries. The thermometer is largely the invention of Galileo, although mercury was not used until after 1670, the earliest thermometers using water and alcohol to indicate rising and falling temperatures. The air pump, which was merely an application of the ordinary water pump, was introduced in the seventeenth century and led to important discoveries. Toricelli (1608-1647) in his experiments with vacua and atmospheric pressure accurately determined the weight of the atmosphere and invented the barometer. Early in the eighteenth century the manometer, an instrument for measuring elastic pressure, was invented and used to determine the blood pressure of animals

and the root pressure of plants. These various tools,—telescope, logarithms, microscope, barometer, thermometer, air pump, were all indispensable instruments of scientific advance; their discovery and use sped up the progress of science. It is partly because the scientific instruments of the nineteenth century and of today are so much more accurate and numerous, that in recent years scientific discoveries have been so marvelous and so rapid.

Following Toricelli's experiments with atmosphere and vacua, which, as we saw, led to the discovery of the barometer, Robert Boyle (1627-1691) made important observations on the compressibility of gases, and the necessity of air for living creatures. Boyle did much to lay the foundations of modern chemistry, not only through his experiments but through his book, *The Skeptical Chemist*, in which he poked fun at the alchemy of the Middle Ages and advocated the scientific method. Chemistry, however, was not to be put upon the same sure basis as the other sciences until the close of the eighteenth century, largely through the efforts of Priestley, Scheele, Cavendish and Lavoisier.

Early in the eighteenth century a wholesome influence was exerted upon the development of chemistry by the elaboration of a false theory of combustion. It was believed that "all combustible substances contained a principle, phlogiston, and that when a substance burned, phlogiston escaped; very combustible substances were thought to contain much phlogiston and incombustible substances, no phlogiston." The phlogiston theory of combustion led a number of scientists to experiment with combustion. By treating limestone with acid an English scientist, Black, collected a gas which he believed was "fixed" in the limestone and hence he called it "fixed air." This "fixed air" was heavier than air, was an acid and would not support life and yet was present in the human breath; later, it was found that the "fixed air" of Black was carbonic acid. Shortly afterwards, another Englishman, Cavendish, by treating iron and other metals with sulphuric acid collected another gas, which was lighter than air. Because it burned readily it was

first called "inflammable air"; it is now called hydrogen. A few years later nitrogen was discovered, and in 1774 occurred one of the most important chemical discoveries. Joseph Priestley, (1733-1804), a Unitarian clergyman who was exiled from England because of his religious views and came to America where he spread the Unitarian doctrines, was a famous chemist and experimenter. By heating a red compound of mercury he collected a gas which supported life and caused candles when placed within it to burn much more vividly and brightly than under ordinary conditions. Because it was obtained from a burnt metal Priestly called it "dephlogisticated air." At almost the same time, Scheele, a Swedish chemist, famous for the isolation of several chemical elements, discovered the same gas.

Building upon the work of Black, Cavendish, Priestley and Scheele, the famous Frenchman, Lavoisier, (1743-1794) combined their results and earned the title "Founder of Modern Chemistry." One of his important services was to disprove the phlogiston theory. Lavoisier weighed substances before and after burning and found that burning increased their weight "and that if burnt in a closed space the loss of weight of the air, equals the gain in weight of the metal." He repeated Priestly's experiment and "found that the loss of weight was equal to the 'dephlogisticated air' driven off." This gas he named "oxygen," acid producer, because its compounds were chiefly acids. He discovered that the "fixed air" of Black was carbon dioxide or carbonic acid; the "inflammable air" of Cavendish he named hydrogen,—water producer,—because united with oxygen it produced water, the synthesis of which was first accomplished by Cavendish. Lavoisier began the nomenclature of modern chemistry. His career was cut short in middle life during the French reign of terror when he was sent to the guillotine by the fanatic Robespierre, because he had been a farmer general, one of the hated tax collectors, and was accused of appropriating public money.

While the chemists of the eighteenth century were thus experimenting with combustion, gases, oxidation and other kindred subjects, belated developments were taking place in

study of the plant and animal world. We have seen that Malpighi and Leeuwenhoek, by the use of the microscope, had revealed many of nature's secrets. In the eighteenth century, Linnaeus and Buffon applied the scientific method to plant and animal life. Linnaeus, a Swedish scientist, (1707-1778) is the founder of the science of botany. He collected and catalogued innumerable plants. The value of his work consists in his clear and accurate descriptions, his careful observations in likenesses and differences, and his orderly system of plant classification. Buffon (1707-1788) was a French naturalist who devoted his attention to the study of animals, and, like Linnaeus, called attention to the likenesses as well as differences that exist between the various species. In noting the marked points of resemblance between many animals he hinted at the possibility of a common origin of the various species and can be considered a forerunner of the theory of evolution, which was advanced in the nineteenth century.

One feature of the scientific advance that stands out most prominently is its international character. It was not confined to one country, nor was it due to the labors of a small group of men. The combined result was the work of a veritable army of painstaking investigators; Italians, Germans, Belgians, Dutchmen, Swedes, and Englishmen, all contributed to the steady march. The seventeenth century witnessed the formation of societies or academies for the promotion of science. Most important were the Royal Society of London, chartered in 1662, the French Academy in 1666, the Berlin Academy in 1700, and the American Philosophical Society, organized through the influence of Franklin in 1769. Pensions and gifts were bestowed upon men of science by kings, governments and wealthy patrons; observatories were built at the state's expense. Expeditions were dispatched to different parts of the world to examine various phenomena or to observe an eclipse. Science and its pursuit enjoyed a high repute; it became the fashion in high circles to entertain and cultivate the scientist.

From our viewpoint as students of general history, this

scientific advance from 1400 to 1800 is important in two respects. First, the investigations of the scientists in these centuries were chiefly in the domain of pure or theoretical science. It should be clear that these researches were fundamental and absolutely necessary before the truly marvelous progress in the field of applied science could become possible in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We shall shortly see that some advance was made in the application of general scientific principles to the satisfactions of man's needs in the eighteenth century, as, for example, in the invention of the steam engine and of machinery for manufacturing goods. But it is in the period since 1800 that science has given us the railroad and steamboat, the telephone, the telegraph, the airplane, the automobile, the gas engine, the submarine, the victrola, and radio. The scientists have thus added to the comforts and conveniences of life and in so doing they have brought about a new world which makes the nineteenth and twentieth centuries quite unlike any of their predecessors.

Second, scientists helped to create a new habit of mind. Science revealed so many of nature's secrets, upsetting in the process so many long cherished notions, that many came to believe that the scientific attitude of doubt, questioning, experimenting, testing, would prove that the accepted ideas of government and religion were just as false as was the Ptolemaic system. If ideas were not subject to scientific proof, it was argued, the mind should reject them or at least doubt them. This attitude, it is needless to say, was destructive of faith in the old order. The cult of reason triumphed over the cult of faith. Science and reason became objects of worship. This emphasis upon reason and the rejection of authority, either divine or human, as a guiding principle, is called rationalism.

THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION

Rationalism was coupled with an intense respect for nature and nature's laws. Confident in the powers of their own minds, believing that natural laws and truths could be dis-

covered in the field of politics and religion, just as scientists were establishing them in the physical world, men addressed themselves to the task of condemning what was and of erecting in its stead a reasonable and natural philosophy. Although this group of thinkers speculated on problems which could not be subject to the rigid scientific method, none the less, they claimed that their researches were scientific; they proclaimed their new ideas with even more assurance than did the scientists. In short, the truly scientific renaissance tended to produce a general, philosophical or intellectual revolution. In government, the rationalists ridiculed the idea of divine right of monarchy as irrational and unnatural. In religion, the idea of a God demanding service from his creatures, revealing Himself to man and establishing a formal church with a fixed body of doctrines was attacked. The rationalist prided himself upon his irreligion, his deism or atheism. In society, the gross inequalities that existed between classes were criticized and the doctrine became current that all men are by nature free and equal. In the field of economics the mercantile system was overthrown and the doctrine of freedom and individualism, *laissez faire*, took its place.

We can here only touch upon a few of the more important names connected with the Intellectual Revolution and we shall deal chiefly with those aspects of it which became popular rather than with the abstract reasonings of the pure philosopher. The Philosophic Revolution, or Rationalism, had its definite beginnings among a group of English thinkers, supported by a few philosophers on the continent of Europe. It achieved its greatest popularity among the French in the eighteenth century. In England the most important names are those of Locke, Hobbes and Adam Smith. In France Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot, stand out as the leaders.

John Locke (1632-1704), properly speaking, belongs to the seventeenth century. Most of his important works were published in the last decade of that century; (*Letters on Toleration*, 1689; *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1690;

Two Treatises on Government, 1690; *Essay on Education*, 1693; *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, 1695). More than any other he embodies the spirit of the new era,—independence, criticism, individualism, democracy. It is from his writings that the eighteenth century philosophers drew their inspiration. In his youth he studied philosophy, science and medicine. He was practically an exile from England during the reigns of Charles II and James II, but after the Bloodless Revolution of 1688, he returned and held several government offices. Locke's main problem was the origin of knowledge. He endeavored to analyze man's capacity to acquire knowledge, and as an essential part of his problem he addressed himself to an examination of the sources of knowledge. His answer clearly illustrates the influence of scientific discoveries in the world. Briefly, he contended that all knowledge comes to man from the senses, through experiments. He rejected completely the idea of Descartes that man is born with certain innate ideas. Any ideas which do not come to us through the experiences of the senses and reflection are to be discounted.

This theory Locke developed in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*. It naturally led him and others to formulate many ideas quite out of keeping with the traditional view of things. In politics he was an opponent of divine right autocracy and a champion of the Revolution of 1688. According to Locke, man possessed natural rights which his reason could discover and which should govern all his actions. To protect and preserve these natural rights governments were freely instituted by men and whenever governments failed in this task they were to be overthrown. This idea of popular sovereignty which Rousseau was to make so well known throughout France was later acted upon in the American Revolution. Locke was not a Christian but a Deist, that is, he believed in a personal God but not in a God with supernatural or miraculous power, in his *Letters on Toleration* he advocated toleration by the state of all religious beliefs including atheism and Catholicism. In the philosophy of Locke, we can find practically all the ideas which permeated the whole of

eighteenth century philosophy. He condemned autocracy, praised constitutional government and taught the idea of popular sovereignty. He extolled reason and the laws of nature.

The great interpreter of Locke to the French people was François Marie Arouet, better known as Voltaire, who was born in 1694 and died in 1778. His life thus covers a greater part of the eighteenth century and he is easily its dominant literary figure. Voltaire received a good education in a Jesuit school and for a time studied law. He soon gave up law, however, for literature, and began to attack the government and the Church much to the disgust of his pious and respectable family. His attacks on existing institutions and prominent personages, as scurrilous as they were witty, kept him in constant trouble with the authorities. He served his first term in the Bastille when he was twenty-three and spent a large part of his life in exile from Paris. These periods of exile brought Voltaire in touch with other countries and made him an international figure. His three years spent in England had a lasting influence on him. He was intimate with most of the prominent literary, intellectual and political figures and developed a great admiration for English government and institutions, especially the spirit of toleration and scientific inquiry. He spent considerable time at the Prussian court and carried on a long and intimate correspondence with Frederick the Great. Wherever he went his mischievous spirit and his venomous pen got him into trouble, although he was not above playing the sycophant and flatterer at times in order to win favor.

Voltaire wrote voluminously; his works fill almost one hundred volumes. He was poet, novelist, historian, biographer, dramatist, essayist, critic. His style was witty, clever, brilliant, but at the same time easy and popular. He was not a great original thinker. His judgments were often inaccurate and superficial. He was inordinately vain and self-centered. He knew how to lie and contradict himself when he chose to avoid trouble, thus laying himself open to charges of insincerity and

hypocrisy. Nevertheless he is one of the great men of all time. More than any other he broke down the old regime and brought in a new era. As Morley says, "The existence, character, and career of this extraordinary person constituted in themselves a new and prodigious era." The secret of his power lies in his popularity. He appealed to all intelligent people because he put in witty form what many felt but could not express. The fact that his writings were condemned and burned only made them read the more. Censorship always arouses the interest of the curious.

The ideas for which Voltaire became famous are practically all contained in his *Letters on the English* and in his *Handy Philosophic Dictionary*, but are also expressed throughout his writings. His *Letters on the English* is really an attack upon French manners, morals, customs and government as well as upon Catholicism. Voltaire was, like all the other "Philosophers", an admirer of science: he himself had a laboratory, and called himself "scientific." He professed a great love for nature and the laws of nature, and insisted that man's reason could find out the natural laws that regulate human conduct, society and religion. He, too, was a deist and waged implacable war upon religion. He was bitter toward all religions, but because the Catholic church was strongest in France, he naturally vented most of his spleen upon it and was wont to conclude his letters with the phrase "Crush the Infamous Thing." He lampooned the priests, held them up to scorn and ridicule as imposters, laughed at their doctrines in theology, satirized their actions, and bitterly attacked their power and manner of living. He wanted the clergy to be subject to the government, to pay taxes and to leave their monasteries. The regular clergy, such as the Jesuits, he especially hated.

Voltaire was not a democrat; he was a monarchist because he had little faith in the average citizen, but he did attack abuses in government and pleaded for rational and enlightened monarchs, that is, for monarchs who would be benevolent despots. He wanted the laws made uniform; the criminal laws improved, exemptions abolished, and the internal tariffs and

customs removed. These reforms suggested by Voltaire were subsequently brought about during the revolution.

Voltaire, however, was not the only philosopher who was pounding away at the old regime. He was ably assisted by a host of writers who worshipped at the shrine of the new rationalism. Among them was Denis Diderot (1713-1784), who planned and edited an encyclopedia in which it was intended to bring together the sum total of human knowledge.—“Of all that had been discovered in the sciences, the details of the arts which men had invented, the principles of morals, those of legislation, the laws which govern society, and even the history of our opinions.” To the completion of this ambitious scheme Diderot devoted his life. Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, D’Alembert, and an army of other contributors supplied articles for the undertaking which, after nearly twenty years of labor, was completed in twenty-eight volumes—eleven of which were supplementary and devoted to pictures and illustrations. Diderot and his associated workers, known as the encyclopedists, worked under the greatest difficulties, for after publication of the first two volumes (1751-1752) the work was condemned and its printing forbidden. Persecution and censorship helped to sell the encyclopedia but its authors had to carry on the work secretly. The authorities were, of course, serving their own interests and betraying their instinct for self-preservation in endeavoring to forestall the publication of the encyclopedia. For Diderot and the encyclopedists were enlightened philosophers. They were for the most part rationalists and deists. Their criticism of the church and state, their glorification of liberty, toleration, reason, and nature, breathes forth from every page and gives tone and color to the whole work. In the various articles, the encyclopedists attacked the slave trade, the system of taxation, the unequal laws, the barbarous criminal codes, intolerance in religion, despotism in government, they extolled the natural sciences, placed emphasis upon the supreme importance of the lowly tasks of the peasant, artisan and merchant, and referred to clergy and nobles as parasites. Their work was filled with the spirit of Locke

and Voltaire and was a powerful agency in helping to spread and popularize their ideas among the bourgeoisie who were being converted to the new "Enlightenment" and who were destined in a few years to apply these ideas in constructing a new social and political order.

Of a more practical nature than Voltaire and the encyclopedists were reformers like Montesquieu and Rousseau. Both are especially noted for their contributions to political thought. Montesquieu (1689-1755) was a nobleman, a lawyer and a judge who sold his judgeship and devoted his time to study and travel, spending a good deal of his time in England. He is in many respects the least radical of the philosophers; yet his first book *Persian Letters*, which appeared before Voltaire's *English Letters*, speaks lightly of the Pope, condemns the celibacy of the clergy, maintains that religion is argued and discussed rather than practiced, attacks the monarchy and condemns as bad many practices of church and state. In his most famous book, *The Spirit of the Laws*, he formulated his theories concerning government. According to Montesquieu, there is no one form of government that is best. All governments are good which serve the needs of the people and in considering a particular type of government it is necessary, he maintains, to have due regard for the past history of the country, its traditions, its habits and its pursuits. Laws should be adapted to the people for whom they are made. Law in general is human reason, applied to the physical, social and economic needs of a given people. "When I go into a country I do not look to see if there are good laws, but whether they execute those they have; for there are good laws everywhere." Montesquieu was much impressed with the English type of government and in particular praised a division of power between parliament, king and courts, which he mistakenly believed existed there. It should be noted that this separation of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government so praised by Montesquieu was incorporated in the American Constitution. In theory Montesquieu preferred a republic, but urged the French to copy the government of

England. Montesquieu's praise of the English constitution coupled with Voltaire's praise of the English philosophy of life profoundly influenced the course of the French Revolution.

A more radical theory of government was advanced by the erratic and emotional genius, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). His mother having died at his birth he was apprenticed to a notary, and later to an engineer from whom he ran away, spending the rest of his life wandering from one city to another, trying various occupations,—servant, tutor, music teacher. Always unsuccessful, always in poverty, always in poor health, he was despondent, discontented, suspicious and finally became insane. His unsettled life is reflected in his books which show many inconsistencies. Still greater inconsistency exists between the high standards of conduct formulated in his writings and the immoralities of his own life. In *Émile* he outlined an elaborate scheme for the education of children, yet he turned his own over to a foundling asylum. Although many of Rousseau's fundamental premises have been disproved and much of his philosophy discredited, nevertheless there are few men in history whose ideas have had greater influence.

In 1749 one of the French Academies offered a prize for the best essay on the subject *Whether the Progress of the Arts and Sciences has tended to Corrupt or Improve Morals*. Rousseau competed and won the prize, thereby establishing a reputation for himself. He contended in his discourse that the progress of the arts and sciences tended to corrupt morals because they have promoted luxury, avarice, and pride. In a later essay on the *Origin of Inequality*, Rousseau goes into ecstasy over what he assumed was the free and equal life of the primitive savage. It was the ideal life, free from all unnatural restraint. To him the age of savagery is the Golden Age, and he draws a picture, without historic basis, of primitive life. Inequality originated, he contended, with "The first man who having enclosed a piece of ground, undertook to say 'this is mine.' Such was the origin of society and law, which

gave new bonds to the weak, new strength to the rich, irrevocably destroyed natural liberty, established forever the laws of property and inequality, turned adroit usurpation into settled right, and, for the profit of a few ambitious men, subjected thenceforth all the human race to labor, servitude, and misery."

Rousseau's most influential work is his *Social Contract*. He begins with the statement, "Man is born free and everywhere he is enslaved," and proceeds to assume, of course without proof, that in the distant past, men freely bound themselves by a social contract to respect the rights of one another. He abandons his eulogy of the state of nature as the ideal life to which man should return and seeks to find a reasonable basis of law and government. He finds it in his interpretation of the social contract, according to which each individual after engaging in this social contract is to remain as free as when in the state of nature. Any government established as a result of this agreement which restricts individual freedom violates the social contract. Society cannot claim the obedience of individuals to its laws unless the individual freely assents to those laws. Therefore, in the ideal state the individual is sovereign,—the people rule and make the laws; any other kind of government is tyranny and should be overthrown. Rousseau thus made popular the ideas of liberty, equality and popular sovereignty; they became the guiding principals of the French Revolution and were subsequently spread throughout Europe and the world. It should be remarked that the idea of an original social contract binding society together was not new with Rousseau, but that he gave it force and direction.

While Voltaire and Rousseau were busy attacking church and state in a general way, an Italian nobleman and jurist directed his attention to urging reform of the criminal law. In the eighteenth century trials were secret and punishments severe. Blackstone estimates that in England one hundred and sixty offenses were punishable with death, even the stealing of more than twelve pence. Torture was common. Beccaria (1738-1794) particularly called for the abolition of torture

and for reform in the criminal law. He contended that the whole treatment of crime should be in the direction of preventing people from becoming criminals and that this could be accomplished by light rather than cruel punishments.

At the same time, in England, John Howard, himself a jailer who knew the inhuman conditions under which prisoners lived, took up the question of prison reform. Prisons were dark and unsanitary; prisoners had to bribe jailers in order to secure food. Children, women and men were huddled together in the same room without regard for sex, age, or the nature of the crime. These ideas of Howard are the basis of many of our present ones concerning prisons, crimes and their punishment. Little progress in this direction was accomplished, however, until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; indeed, the whole subject of crime and its treatment is still much discussed. There are many who maintain that our modern treatment of criminals is still barbarous and does not accomplish in an efficient way what it is intended to do. The eighteenth century also witnessed attacks on the slave trade and witchcraft persecutions,—in short the birth of a great interest in humanitarian reforms which became more and more pronounced in the next century.

We can summarize the ideas of the eighteenth century enlightenment or Intellectual Revolution, as follows. (1) It took its cue from the natural progress made by the scientists. (2) It claimed, therefore, to be scientific and to apply successful scientific methods in discovering the true nature of society, government and religion. (3) It emphasized reason, rejected and scorned authority and tradition. (4) It was sceptical. (5) In government it attacked absolutism and preached the idea of popular sovereignty. (6) It demanded equality of law and taxation. (7) In religion it attacked the power and influence of the state-supported clergy. (8) It demanded that the civil government should render the church absolutely subordinate to it and urged the abolition of church tithes and ecclesiastical courts. (9) It was deistic, rather than atheistic, accepting a belief in God but rejecting all formal

religious beliefs, ceremonies and teachings as unreasonable and unscientific, and demanding the toleration of all religions. (10) In society, it insisted on the doctrine that all men are equal, that all men are by nature free. (11) It extolled, therefore, the rights of the individual and demanded the abolition of class distinction and privilege. (12) Finally it was humanitarian and called for the relief of human miseries and misfortune. In short, eighteenth century enlightenment was essentially individualistic. It was a mighty protest against the old regime. But it is an exaggeration to maintain that these philosophic ideas caused the French Revolution. The revolution was caused rather by the conditions than by the attack upon the conditions. None the less, the philosophers were an important factor in the revolution, for the leaders of the revolution were in love with the principles of enlightenment, quoted its arguments, and charged the air with its phrases and formulas,—Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. The revolution itself failed to practice many of the ideas of the philosophers; but it served to focus attention upon them, aroused passionate enthusiasm for them and they lingered to permeate the thought of the nineteenth century, when for the most part they won general acceptance.

Another phase of the Intellectual Revolution, destined to influence profoundly the history of the nineteenth century, was the development of the science of political economy.

CHANGES IN ECONOMIC THOUGHT

Mercantilism is a term ordinarily applied to the theory of economics that prevailed from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Its origin can be traced to the guild regulations of the Middle Ages which were designed to secure monopoly control of each trade for the favored guild members. The guild system developed when national states were weak; it was natural that when nations became sufficiently powerful they should assume the same protecting attitude toward the trade and industry of the nation that the guilds did. The

essence of mercantilism lies in the efforts of nations to secure for their own industries, trade and commerce, special privileges and favored opportunities at the expense of the trade and industry of other nations. The mercantilists contended that the wealth of a nation was determined by the amount of gold and silver bullion within its boundaries. Nations should seek to increase this supply by acquiring colonies that possessed rich gold and silver mines, or else by maintaining a "favorable balance of trade," so that people from other nations would have to send gold and silver to pay their debts. "A favorable balance of trade," obtained when a nation sold abroad more than it purchased, i.e. when exports exceeded imports. It was considered the duty of the government to bring about this result. Needless to say, it was a practical application of this theory which induced nations to maintain navies to protect their colonies and trade and which was at the bottom of the colonial and dynastic wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was also the practical application of mercantile principles which caused governments to foster home industries by protective tariffs, by bounties and subsidies, and by minute regulations of manufacture and trade.

An outstanding exponent of mercantilism was Colbert, Minister to Louis XIV, the Grand Monarch. The policies of Colbert are typical of all mercantilist statesmen. He established high protective tariffs to exclude foreign articles and he even forbade the importation of certain goods. On the other hand, merchants were forbidden to sell raw materials to a country which might rival them in manufacturing. Inventors were rewarded, premiums were paid to those who established new industries, immigration was encouraged, canals were built and roads kept in repair. Elaborate sets of rules were drawn up for the manufacture of articles in order to make them conform to a definite standard so that the goods of France should achieve a reputation for their quality. Liberal charters and sums of money were granted to colonial companies to establish trading settlements in different parts of the world. Shipping and ship-building were encouraged. It be-

came the cardinal point of mercantilist practice to demand the carrying of a nation's goods in ships belonging to the nation. Nations had to have a merchant marine which could be readily used by the government in time of war. It became the custom in war time for governments to issue letters of mark and reprisal to captains of merchant vessels authorizing them to commit acts of war and seize enemy vessels. It will be clear that mercantilism on its political side is governmental paternalism, protecting the business interests of the country in every way possible, watching and guiding the development of trade and industry as a father watches and guides the development of his children.

In the eighteenth century mercantilism and paternalism were vehemently attacked by a group of economists known as the Physiocrats—so called because they claimed that they had discovered the natural laws underlying the production of wealth (the word physiocrat comes from two Greek words meaning nature and law.) The chief physiocrats were Quesnay, Turgot, and, in certain respects, Adam Smith, who, while they had many points of difference, agreed in condemning mercantilism. Quesnay was a physician who argued that wealth circulates through a nation as the blood circulates through the soil. All wealth comes from agriculture, the manufacturer merely transforms the article, and the trader carries it from place to place. It was wrong, he maintained, to hamper, by taxes and government restrictions, the flow of goods through the country and throughout the world, just as it would be wrong to stop the flow of blood through the different parts of the body. Taxes should be imposed not upon trade and industry but upon the soil. He championed direct land taxes rather than the indirect taxes that were so common. For the merchants and traders the physiocrats coined the phrase, *laissez faire et laissez passer*—Let things be done and let things pass, or, simply, let things alone.

The idea that the soil is the source of all wealth was abandoned by Turgot and Adam Smith but, with some restrictions, they accepted the other law of nature that the physiocrats

claimed to have discovered. It may be called the law of free competition. They argued, briefly, that it was to the selfish interest of the buyer to buy in the cheapest market and of the seller to sell in the dearest market. Therefore, an equilibrium would result from these two extremes of selfish interest and a just and fair price would be established. They also argued that the manufacturer would selfishly make the best possible article to sell as cheaply as possible when free competition existed. Free competition would tax the energy and resources of the manufacturer to the utmost, and the people would benefit by securing good articles at low prices. The essence of the *laissez faire* doctrine as it is called, is, therefore, freedom and individualism, which as we have seen is one of the ideas so heavily emphasized by the rationalists.

Adam Smith, an Englishman, published in 1776, the year of the American Declaration of Independence, *An Inquiry into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. It has been referred to as a declaration of independence for industry. He accepted the ideas of the physiocrats with modifications and added many of his own, placing as much emphasis upon trade and industry, as upon agriculture. In the main, he demanded freedom of competition, free and unrestricted trade within a country, and freedom of trade between nations. It was unwise, he maintained, as well as wasteful, to stimulate the production of goods artificially in one country when they could be produced more easily and cheaply elsewhere. Let each country produce those goods which are best suited to its soil, climate and natural resources. Let there be a free exchange of goods between the nations of the world. Let things alone. Let the government keep hands off. Let freedom reign.

Smith preached his doctrine at a time when the Industrial Revolution was getting under way, and the new factory owners and capitalists welcomed the doctrine which gave them a free hand and allowed them to make what they pleased and how they pleased and to employ their workmen—women and children as well as men—for long hours and low wages.

The economic doctrines of Smith carried the day. In its

practical effects his book, *The Wealth of Nations*, is one of the most important ever written. After the Napoleonic wars were over and Europe settled down to peace and work, the different governments adopted free trade, abandoned paternalism, lost interest in the acquisition of colonies, and the factory owners took advantage of their newly won freedom to pocket huge profits while the workers eked out a wretched and miserable existence. We shall later examine the workings of *laissez faire* in the nineteenth century, and we shall also see its gradual abandonment after 1870 in favor of a neo-mercantilism with high tariffs, a renewed scramble for colonies and markets, and a new paternalism.

Meanwhile, we shall have to turn our attention to some practical efforts that were made in the eighteenth century to translate the ideas of the philosophers into action. This effort is called Enlightened Despotism.

THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS

The philosophy of reason and enlightenment reached the royal households, and sovereigns vied with one another in entertaining the philosophers, reading their works and playing with the reforms they suggested. These sovereigns of the eighteenth century have been dubbed enlightened or benevolent despots. They are called enlightened because they displayed an interest in the philosophers. They may be called benevolent or kind hearted, because some of them did introduce reforms; but such reforms as they carried out were primarily designed to strengthen the royal power, centralize administration and weaken the influence of the church. First and foremost, they were despots. None of them thought of establishing democratic parliaments or representative governments; they preferred to accept Voltaire's suggestion that reform should come through an enlightened monarchy, rather than Rousseau's bold doctrine of popular sovereignty. Despotism is the most important word in the phrase, whether it be called enlightened or benevolent despotism.

The most famous exponents of despotism were Catherine of Russia, Frederick II of Prussia, and Joseph II of Austria. There were others of course,—the Kings of Sweden, Spain, Portugal and Sardinia, all busied themselves with reform,—while in France the voluptuous Louis XV continued to squander money, plunged the country into debt, shrugged his shoulders, and ventured the prophecy, "After me, the Deluge."

Catherine II of Russia, who knew how to intrigue in true Machiavellian fashion when the stakes were Swedish, Polish or Turkish territory, posed as an enlightened despot. She was in correspondence with Voltaire and Diderot and was delighted to describe in letters to them her plans of reform, most of which ended with being merely plans. With Catherine enlightenment was a pose. She talked about giving Russia a constitution and had an elaborate and liberal code of laws drawn up which she presented to an assembly at Moscow, but which she never put into effect. She did not attempt to abolish serfdom, she permitted the whip to be used as an instrument of torture, she used Siberia as a place of exile for her enemies. She did establish a few schools, but her reason for so doing is thus expressed in one of her letters, "If I establish schools it is not for us—it is for Europe where we must keep our position and public opinion."

Frederick II of Prussia, unscrupulous, scheming, ambitious, and deceitful, was just a trifle more sincere in his reforms. He took the business of government seriously and boasted that he was the first servant of the state. He carried out a series of reforms, but as we analyze them we can see that they were calculated to strengthen the royal power rather than to aid the people; some of them were democratic and some of them did approach a solution of social problems.

In economics, Frederick was a true mercantilist. He levied protective tariffs to encourage industry; he drained marshes and built canals; he encouraged immigration in order to increase the productivity of his country and to secure more soldiers for Prussia. He inaugurated legal reforms which tended to lessen the laws' delay and to establish a single uni-

form system for Prussia. He founded elementary schools and encouraged science and literature, although he considered the famous Goethe uninteresting. He exercised scrupulous care in the management of the royal treasury, checked extravagance and endeavored to minimize the burdens of taxation. In religion, Frederick, like the philosophers, was a sceptic and deist, and granted religious toleration to all except the Jews. Although a Protestant he requested the Pope to allow the Jesuits to continue as a religious body after their suppression by papal decree. He did not abolish serfdom, a step which was a prerequisite to any really thorough-going democratic and social reform.

The most sincere of the benevolent despots, but the least successful, was the well-intentioned failure, Joseph II of Austria. He worked hard but got nowhere. He aroused the opposition of the privileged classes whose privileges he was endeavoring to destroy and at his death his reforms died with him. He freed the serfs in certain parts of his kingdom; he undertook to tax nobles and clergy as well as peasants; he introduced legal and judicial reforms which supplanted with a simple and uniform body of law the conflicting systems that prevailed throughout his realm. He endeavored to unify the mixed races that composed his kingdom. He reorganized the country into provinces, he destroyed local customs and privileges, he struggled to establish the power of his own officials. Although he was a devout Catholic he labored to limit the power of the church. He reduced the number of monasteries, confiscated their property and used it for schools. He appointed bishops without approval of the pope, declared marriage a civil contract and tolerated all religions. He, too, was a mercantilist, and levied protective tariffs, encouraged industry and practiced economy. He was the most ambitious of the reforming princes; yet his work failed. Nobles and the clergy were against him; the subject nationalities objected to his policy of Germanizing them, and he died a disappointed man, requesting as an epitaph,—“Here lies the man who with the best of intentions never succeeded in anything.”

Enlightened despotism failed—all such attempts have usually failed. Real reform would entail the abolition of serfdom, the removal of class distinction and the limitation of royal authority by popular assemblies. Power and privilege are usually too precious for those who enjoy them to relinquish them for the greater good of all. The enlightened despotism of the eighteenth century did partially succeed in promoting the arts and sciences, in fostering schools and establishing religious toleration, and in promoting prosperity, but it failed for the following reasons;—(1) Many of the despots only toyed with the idea of reform. They were not sincere. (2) It is impossible to force reforms upon people which they do not want, and the enlightened despot did not bother to find out the wishes of his unenlightened subjects. (3) Enlightened despotism was not really interested in reform but in enhancing the power of the royal despot. (4) At best it was a make-shift method, for a wise and benevolent ruler might be followed by a bad one and the achievements of the good one would be lost. Frederick the Great, for example, was succeeded by a weak ruler and much of Frederick's work was undone, while Joseph II witnessed the collapse of his own reforms.

The efforts of the divine right monarchs, well meaning or insincere, failed to accomplish needed reforms that the old regime required. But in France a revolution of the people occurred which shattered the foundations of the old order and, spreading throughout Europe, combined with the more important industrial revolution to work a complete transformation in government and society. With the French Revolution the modern era really begins.

CHAPTER II

10 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE French Revolution is often popularly misjudged. To many it brings to mind the Terror,—burning castles, riotous mobs, a murderous guillotine. This impression is created in part by conservative writers who wish to discredit all change, in part by popular orators, moving pictures and historical novels that seek the spectacular. The Terror was not the revolution; the Terror accomplished nothing of value and left no definite or permanent results,—unless it be a sort of vague horror at the mere thought of revolution. The real French Revolution took place peacefully with only an occasional outburst of long-restrained passions. Its chief work was to destroy divine right monarchy and the old social order, and to leave a heritage of ideas that were to achieve fruition in the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, some are inclined to hail the French Revolution as the fountain head of liberty, equality and democracy, of all that is good in modern political life. The people of France, it is said, fought for us the good fight against tyranny, autocracy and class distinction, and therefore all the works of the revolution were good and glorious. This view is just as narrow as the preceding one. The French Revolution was but one of many factors that have contributed to modern democracy and social equality,—and we need but to look about us to see how imperfectly these ends have been attained.

CAUSES

The French Revolution, then, is not to be confused with the Reign of Terror, nor need we look upon it as the origin of

all that is good in modern democracy. Simply stated, the French Revolution helped to weaken the divine right monarchy and the social order of the old regime. Why was there a revolution? Briefly, because new conditions needed new institutions. Economic conditions,—trade, business, industry, agriculture—were changing. Capitalists, lawyers, doctors storekeepers, traders, shipowners, scientists and inventors,—the bourgeoisie—were growing in wealth and importance. The scheme of things as they were in the eighteenth century made no room for them. They were virtually excluded from government and high social position. The hard-working peasants, burdened with tithes and taxes, were ready to listen to any leaders who promised to better their condition. It is little wonder the revolution took place.

But conditions were worse in other countries of Europe. The peasants of France were relatively better off than the serfs of Austria or Spain. Why, then, did the revolution take place in France rather than in Spain or Austria? Probably the best answer is: the French were more prosperous; to them the old regime was more irksome. Detached England had started the process of disregarding the old regime. From England, as we have seen, there came a philosophy of enlightenment. The vehement criticism of the old regime carried on by Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and others, became popular in France because it was supported by a prosperous, enlightened and intelligent bourgeoisie. Then, too, we must not forget that divine right monarchy found its typical expression in Louis XIV, the Grand Monarch: no other court was so brilliant; nowhere else was the contrast between privileged and unprivileged so distinct. French autocracy was especially weak and inefficient and had lost considerable prestige because of its many extravagant and losing wars. The successful revolution in America which the French had aided made its influence felt especially through Franklin, the emissary of the new republic. Finally there developed in France the immediate occasion for revolt,—the government was bankrupt. To meet the deficit new and heavier taxes would have to be paid by the

already over-burdened people. Could the people pay more, was one important question. Would the people pay more, was an even more important one.

Louis XIV inaugurated the process of plunging the country into debt to pay for his costly wars and palaces. It is said that he saw the evil of the increasing burden of taxation and warned his little great-grandson, Louis XV—"Do not imitate me in my fondness for war, nor in the exorbitant expenditure which I have incurred. Endeavor to relieve the people at the earliest possible moment." Louis XV was only five years old when he received this good advice. He engaged France in four wars, of which the last, the Seven Years War, was the most disastrous. France lost her colonies, her commerce was destroyed; she lost her prestige and sank to the position of a second grade power. While French armies were being defeated abroad, at home the king and his court were leading scandalous lives. The king was under the influence of his mistresses and courtiers and when some wise counsellor would suggest that the people were murmuring, he would shrug his shoulders and content himself with the thought that he would be dead when the murmur became a revolution. He left an ignoble heritage—a country overwhelmingly in debt, the revenue from taxes insufficient to meet expenditures, a people whose morale was weakened by defeats and loss of territory abroad, and an extravagant and immoral court at home.

He was succeeded in 1774 by his grandson, the twenty year old Louis XVI. Louis XVI was well meaning, kind hearted, free from the vices that had caused the French people to become disgusted with his grandfather, but with no inclination for the job of king. He would have much preferred to have been allowed to tinker with locks in his shop—a trade at which he possessed some skill. In person, he was heavy and ungainly, lacking all the courtly graces associated with royalty. His greatest handicap was his weak and vacillating will,—his inability to adopt a policy and stick to it. He had too many counsellors, good and bad; he listened to them all and tried to follow everyone's advice. His real desire to serve his people

could not overcome his lack of essential qualities. He was further handicapped by being intensely in love with an extravagant, wilful, and capricious wife, Marie Antoinette, the daughter of Marie Theresa and the sister of the reforming Joseph II of Austria. She was unpopular in France from the first, for the people frowned upon the alliance with Austria, which her marriage with Louis was to cement. She was wilful, haughty, indiscreet, intolerant. She became the center of the court party, bent upon maintaining the old glories and brilliance. She wielded an enormous influence over her weak husband and could induce him to abandon policies or dismiss ministers that interfered with her pleasure-loving extravagance. While Louis XVI and his wife did not cause the revolution, it is not unlikely that a stronger king could have avoided it or at least made it less upsetting to the country and less disastrous to himself.

Louis XVI began his reign well. As proof of his good intentions he appointed as minister of finance Turgot, famous as a scholar and economist as well as for his integrity, ability, and zeal as a reformer. He had been intendant of one of the poorer districts of France for thirteen years and its increased prosperity was evidence of what could be accomplished by wise and skillful administration. His policy as Finance Minister he announced in the simple formula, "no new taxes, no loans." Thrift was to take place of increased taxation. He abolished useless offices, kept expenditures within appropriations and checked the reckless granting of pensions.

He restored freedom to the grain trade by abolishing the governmental restrictions which forbade exportation, established maximum prices and at times prevented the carrying of grain from one province to another. All these restrictions were supposed to lessen the possibility of famine but Turgot used the argument of *laissez faire* economics that grain and commodities would naturally flow to the places where the need was greatest because they would be attracted by high prices. Turgot abolished the guilds which restricted industry and trade and he decreed that anyone might engage in any

industry or profession. Finally he abolished the *corvée*—the odious service tax by which the peasants were compelled to make and repair the roads,—and in its stead imposed a tax upon all landed proprietors, nobles and clergy as well as peasants. In this reform he was approaching his desire of abolishing all tax exemptions. These changes annoyed the nobles, the clergy, the guilds and especially the beneficiaries of corruption and extravagance. His opponents solicited the aid of the queen and Turgot was dismissed from office.

Turgot was succeeded by Necker, a Swiss banker, who pursued a less drastic policy of retrenchment and reform. He lacked the courage to make radical changes, but even those he did make were opposed by the court party. His economies were more than offset by the fact that during his term of office France intervened in the American Revolution on the side of the colonies, and Necker was forced to borrow large sums. In 1781, Necker took a bold step and published a statement of the financial condition of the country. Hitherto government finances had remained a secret and they were still so intricate that it was possible for Necker to juggle the figures and make it appear that there was no deficit. But he let the people know how vast were the sums that were being collected and how extravagantly they were being wasted. The publication of the report brought popular fame and influence to Necker, but court intrigues were set on foot and he too went the way of Turgot.

Necker was followed by Calonne, who believed that the way to secure credit was by appearing rich and prosperous. The court squandered money recklessly and Calonne borrowed and borrowed. But he soon learned the lesson that bankruptcy is never ended by constant borrowing and finally was forced to suggest drastic reforms. From the experience of Necker and Turgot he knew that no reforms could be carried into effect against the wishes of the privileged classes. He proposed, therefore, an assembly of notables, representatives of the two privileged classes, to consider the question of financial reform. In desperation the king yielded and the notables met in 1787.

To them Calonne presented an elaborate program of reform, including a reduction of the *taille* and *gabelle*, abolition of the income tax and internal customs duties and the imposition of a general land tax. The notables debated and debated. They objected to Calonne's request for a land tax, intrigued against him and he too was dismissed. His successor, Archbishop Brienne, dismissed the Assembly of Notables.

Brienne started to reform in the old way by issuing edicts which had to be registered by the parlements; but the parlements boldly refused to register new taxes. The Parlement of Paris went further and declared that only the Estates-General could impose new taxes. A struggle between parlement and king ensued. Bad harvests, a severe winter and high prices put the people in an ugly mood. They supported the parlement and began to criticize the king. Finally in the summer of 1788, the king yielded and issued a decree authorizing elections to the Estates-General, which was to convene in May, 1789. Brienne was dismissed and the popular Necker recalled. The summoning of the Estates-General, which had not met for 175 years, was a resolution in itself.

THE ESTATES-GENERAL BECOMES THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The Estates-General was a relic of feudal times. In the fourteenth century it had been summoned occasionally by kings who wanted new taxes, or who desired popular support in limiting the authority of the pope. In the fifteenth century, it was summoned less and less frequently until it became a memory. It had not met since 1614 and in 1788 few people knew what the Estates-General was, or how it was chosen. It was an assembly of representatives of the three orders or estates,—clergy, nobles, and third estate. The third estate included everyone not in either of the first two. Each estate met and deliberated separately; the consent of two of the three was necessary for any action. The clergy and nobility, the two privileged estates, thus had a two to one advantage over the third estate.

In the interval between August, 1788, when the Estates-General was summoned, and May, 1789, when it met, a general discussion was carried on throughout France in regard to its organization and powers. Numerous pamphlets were printed, written by men who, under the influence of the teachings of philosophers, severely criticized the old method of organization and demanded that the three orders should meet together and vote as one body. As a concession to the vehement criticism Necker decreed that the third estate should have as many members as the two other orders combined. Increasing the number of the third estate did not, however, do away with the essentially undemocratic method of voting. It still left the nobles and clergy in power. In a famous pamphlet it was contended by the Abbe Sieyès that in as much as the third estate represented the bulk of the population, the nobles and clergy should be ignored. "What is the Third Estate? It is everything. What has it been?—nothing. What does it desire?—To be something."

Equally important in forming public opinion were the *cabiers* or lists of grievances which the king requested the various districts to prepare according to an old custom. Thousands of *cabiers* were prepared forming a storehouse of information concerning the old regime. They revealed the discontent of the people, yet they breathed a spirit of hope and optimism, for the feeling was general that good would come from the meeting of the Estates-General. There was practically unanimous agreement that current evils were due to the arbitrary character of the government. A written constitution was demanded, yet there was no desire to get rid of the king. They demanded further that arbitrary imprisonment cease, that the feudal dues be relinquished, that the Estates-General should meet regularly and that it alone have the power to vote taxes, that a Declaration of Rights be formulated. In these demands, it is easy to trace the effects of the English and American Revolutions.

In the elections to the Estates-General universal manhood suffrage prevailed. All whose names appeared on the tax list

were allowed to vote—the members of each order voting for their own representatives. The Estates-General met May 5, 1789, and immediately the deputies of the third estate condemned the old method of organization and refused to meet as a separate order. They invited the deputies of the first and second estates to join them in constituting a national assembly in which the vote would be by head and not by order. After days of discussion the nobles rejected the invitation by a vote of 188 to 47 and the clergy by a closer vote of 133 to 114. The large favorable vote of the clergy was due to the fact that many of the deputies were parish priests, who, as we have seen, were not part of the privileged clergy, and whose interests were naturally with the third estate. Despite the adverse vote, the third estate persistently refused to organize. Finally, on June 17th, the third estate declared itself the National Assembly.

Three days later the deputies found their usual place of meeting closed to them on the ground that it was undergoing repairs. Hot with indignation at the thought that the king was attempting to dismiss them, the deputies rushed to a nearby building, used as a tennis-court, and took an oath that they would never separate until France had a constitution. This famous "Tennis-court Oath" gave force and strength to the action of three days before and nerved the members to face dangers in the days to come. It had one immediate result of great significance. The clergy in large numbers, led by a few of the bishops and arch-bishops, took their seats along with members of the third estate; a few of the nobles also joined them.

The king, influenced by the court party of which the queen, Marie Antoinette, and the king's brother, the Count of Artois, (later King Charles X) were the ring leaders, decided to make one last attempt to coerce the third estate. On June 23rd, he held a royal session of all the estates during which his ministers outlined a liberal program of action, promising, among other things, to end exemption from taxation and to impose no new taxes without the consent of the Estates-General.

The session ended with a request from the king that the estates meet separately and vote by order. As the king withdrew, most of the nobles and some of the clergy arose to obey the royal command, but the third estate remained seated. The grand master of ceremonies undertook to disperse them, but Count Mirabeau, who had been elected a deputy of the third estate cried out, "We will not stir from our places, save at the point of the bayonet." The grand master hesitated; the weak king refused to give the order; the third estate remained. The roll was called and the National Assembly proceeded to debate on the royal session. A few days later the king ordered the representatives of the other estates, who had not already done so, to join the third estate. The third estate had triumphed—the first struggle in the revolution had been won.

THE PEOPLE COME TO THE SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The court party, however, was not to give up without a struggle. Due to its influence large numbers of Swiss and German mercenaries were stationed around Paris and Versailles. The Assembly demanded the withdrawal of the troops, but the king refused. The popular Necker was dismissed. It was commonly whispered that the king was getting ready to send the members of the National Assembly back to their homes at the point of the bayonet. Fiery orators, chief among them Camille Desmoulins, a young journalist, inflamed the Parisian populace, urging the people to revolt. The Parisians were ready for the advice. The harvest had been bad, the previous winter severe; prices were high; food was scarce; many were starving. Rioting broke out. The *Hotel de Ville* (the city hall) was attacked and the arms stored there were taken. Gun shops were looted. On the 14th of July the mob attacked the Bastille.

The Bastille was a fortress in which many of those arbitrarily imprisoned by *lettres de cachet* had been confined. As the mob surged about its massive walls the garrison fired,

killing nearly one hundred people. The commandant, having been promised safety for himself and men, surrendered. The mob rushed in and, evidently disappointed at finding but seven prisoners to free, all of them held for minor offenses, killed the commandant and most of his men. Bastille day, July 14, is still celebrated as the great national holiday of France. The fall of the Bastille was not important in itself but the Bastille stood in the minds of the people as a symbol of the old regime. Its downfall epitomized the triumph of the people over privilege.

This uprising of the people produced immediate results. The day after the attack on the Bastille the King appeared before the National Assembly and promised to withdraw the troops and to recall Necker. The business men of Paris, fearing the mob even more than the King, took control of the city government, setting up the Commune, a city council in which royal appointees were replaced by elected representatives. The Commune organized for its protection a national guard, commanded by the popular Lafayette. The king visited the city, approved the revolution in the city government and the formation of the national guard, and put on a red, white and blue cockade (a combination of the Bourbon white and the red and blue of the National Capital) which came to be the tri-color of the revolution.

Similar changes took place in other cities of France. The king's officials were dismissed and the governments taken over by the people,—or rather it should be noted by the bourgeoisie, who were opposed to disorder, rioting, the looting of shops and the destruction of property. The people of the country districts caught the fever; the peasants in the provinces revolted. Intendants and judges and tax gatherers lost their jobs; the soldiers fraternized with the people; disorder became prevalent. The chateaux of the nobles were pillaged and burnt; many of the nobles were killed or forced into exile. Legal documents recording feudal rights and privileges were destroyed; courts of justice closed, governmental activity ceased. Confusion reigned, but the people had destroyed the old regime. It

merely remained for the National Assembly to embody the actions of the people in formal laws.

The National Assembly, however, was between two fires. On the one hand were the people, thoroughly aroused, demanding abolition of abuses; on the other hand a faction of the nobles, headed by the court party, was determined to block all attempts at reform. For the most part the bourgeoisie were in control. They were ready to rouse the people to demonstrations to impress the National Assembly, but they did not want the revolution to go too far. With the fall of the Bastille and the burning of the chateaux, many of the nobles, led by the Count of Artois, fled the country. From the borders of France they plotted against the revolution, gaining the ready support of neighboring sovereigns who were only too willing to check the revolution before it spread to their own territories. The plots of these *émigrés*, as they were called, strengthened the hands of the extremists in France. The *émigrés* must bear a large share of the responsibility for the excesses that occurred in the later days of the revolution.

Throughout the summer of 1789, while the National Assembly was busy with reforms at Versailles, rumors were persistent in Paris that the King, under the influence of the *émigrés* and the Queen, was plotting to overthrow the work of the Assembly. The transfer of additional troops from Flanders to Versailles strengthened these rumors. It was reported that on the night of October 1, at a banquet in honor of the newly-arrived officers, toasts ridiculing the revolution were drunk and the tricolor trampled upon. Famine in Paris made these stories of feasting and revelry all the harder to bear. On the morning of October 5 several thousand women, recruited mainly from the slums of Paris, started for Versailles. Lafayette and the National Guard, unable to stop them, followed after. Arriving at Versailles they surrounded the royal palace shrieking and cursing. Thanks to Lafayette's popularity and his coolness, a serious outbreak was averted, but during the night a small group broke into the palace in search

of the Queen. She fled to safety but several of her attendants were killed.

The next morning Lafayette addressed the tired crowd; the king and queen and the royal children at the right moment appeared in the balcony wearing the tricolor of the revolution. They are with the revolution, thought the mob; but to be sure of it for the future, the crowd brought them back to Paris, shouting lustily on the way, "We have the baker and the baker's wife and the baker's little boy—now we will have bread." The royal family took up its residence in Paris in the Palace of the Tuileries.

The National Assembly followed the royal family to Paris. Both the king and the assembly were under the eye and the influence of the Parisian populace. In the long run this proved disastrous to both, but for more than a year the National Assembly, practically free from royal interference and intrigue, devoted itself to the task of destroying the old regime and building up new institutions for France. This work of the National Assembly, since it embraces most of the permanent results of the revolution, deserves our careful consideration. In our discussion of it it will be convenient to disregard a strictly chronological narrative of events.

WORK OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,
JULY, 1789-SEPTEMBER 1791

We will discuss the work of the National Assembly under the following heads: (1) The abolition of privileges; (2) The Declaration of the Rights of Man; (3) The reorganization of local governments; (4) Financial reforms; (5) Laws concerning the church and clergy; (6) The drafting of a Constitution.

The Abolition of Privileges and the Privileged Classes

We have already seen that, following the storming of the Bastille, riots in city and country broke out throughout

France. The National Assembly appointed a committee to investigate these riots, and on the night of August 4th, the committee made its report. This was the prelude to one of the most famous, epoch making and spectacular all night sessions any legislative body ever had. One of the nobles, the Viscount De Noailles, who had served with Lafayette in America, moved that the Assembly should proclaim the principal of equality in taxation. It was the signal for a long series of motions and decrees. Noble after noble, frightened by the popular uprising, arose to surrender his feudal rights and privileges. Bishops and archbishops vied with the nobles. The principal of equality was proclaimed. Guilds, serfdom, feudal dues, church tithes, tolls and pensions were abolished. Distinctions between noble, clergy and third estate were swept away; special privileges of cities and provinces were overthrown. In the decrees, votes, and proclamations of the night of August 4th, the old regime was destroyed. But we should not suppose that the mere passing of laws would entirely end the system. It took years of practical application before the various laws and decrees were fully carried into effect.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man

After accomplishing so much towards the destruction of the old order, the National Assembly proceeded to formulate its philosophy and fulfill a persistent demand of the *cabiers*, by drawing up the Declaration of the Rights of Man,—one of the great charters of human liberty. This famous document has its prototype in the English Bill of Rights and particularly in the American Declaration of Independence. The National Assembly in drafting the Declaration of the Rights of Man followed to a considerable extent the principles that had already been enunciated in America. The first article of the French document, "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights," has its parallel in the American Declaration in the statement that "all men are created equal." The French declaration that "The principle of

sovereignty resides in the nation," is similar to the American "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Some of the other important declarations are:

"Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else. Law can only prohibit such actions as are hurtful to society."

"Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally or through his representative in its formation."

"No person shall be accused, arrested or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law. All persons are held innocent until they shall have been declared guilty."

"No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions including his religious views. Every citizen may speak, write and print with freedom but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law."

The power of the bourgeoisie, the propertied classes, in the Assembly is shown by the closing declaration:—"Since property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified."

It is obvious from these selections that the Declaration aimed directly at the abuses of the old regime. It should be understood that its various provisions were not laws but rather statements of ideals. These ideals, however, have for the most part become axioms of good government. It is difficult to overestimate their far-reaching influence. It was no idle boast of the Assembly that they had established for all humanity a Declaration which would serve as an everlasting war cry against oppression.

Internal Reorganization of France

We have seen that one of the evils of the old regime was the varying systems of law and administration that lingered on

from early times in the many provinces which had been welded together to make a united France. We have also seen that in July, 1789, the people in the cities and provinces took the government in their own hands, abolishing the old discriminations. It was part of the task of the National Assembly to give permanency to the hasty actions of the indignant citizens. The old provinces were abolished and in their stead were created eighty-three districts or departments, approximately uniform in size and population and named after some mountain or river. The departments were subdivided into districts and communes. The executive officials in the departments and communes and also the judges were to be elected by the people. The laws were made uniform. This internal reorganization of France was one of the permanent achievements of the revolution.

Financial Reforms

The main reason for calling the Estates General was to adjust the finances of a bankrupt kingdom. Some of the more general reforms effected by the National Assembly we have already mentioned, such as the abolition of exemption from taxation, and the abolition of the old feudal dues and church tithes. But the country was bankrupt and the people were refusing to pay taxes to the king's officials. The immediate problem of raising revenue confronted the National Assembly. The Assembly decided on the momentous step of seizing the lands belonging to the church, about one-fifth of the soil of France. This action of the Assembly produced many important results. In the first place, the church lands as well as the lands of the emigrant nobles were sold to the French peasants. The peasants were glad of the opportunity to acquire land and France gradually became a nation of peasant proprietors of small farms. This is one of the most significant and far-reaching economic changes brought about during the revolution. Even today, when the Industrial Revolution has worked a tremendous transformation in economic life, the French peas-

ant remains a thrifty, industrious property owner, quite different from the masses of propertyless factory workers and agricultural laborers in the other leading nations of Europe. If we keep in mind that France is still largely an agricultural country, practically self-sufficient, exporting for the most part luxuries rather than necessities, we shall be in a position to understand more intelligently subsequent French history.

In the second place, the National Assembly used the church lands as security for the issuance of paper money called *assignats*. At first the issuance of *assignats* was carefully guarded and restricted, but, as the revolution went on, the lure of the printing press as an easy means of getting money attracted the revolutionary leaders. Even the example of the abuse of paper money by the American revolutionists did not prevent the reckless printing of the *assignats*; their face value soon far exceeded the value of the land confiscated. For the time being the confiscation of church lands and the issuing of *assignats* saved the situation, but ultimately, as was inevitable, money became cheap, prices soared, gold and silver disappeared from circulation; the government found itself bankrupt and in pretty much the same condition as in 1789, and was forced to repudiate a large part of the issue.

Laws Concerning the Church

In the third place, the confiscation of church lands inaugurated a policy of church reform which finally led to extremes and alienated the support of a large number of both clergy and laymen. When we recall that the clergy constituted a privileged class, exempt from taxes, enjoying high offices, collecting tithes and owning a large part of the soil of France; when we recall that Voltaire and the other philosophers had made the church the butt of their most vehement diatribes; that some of the higher clergy were plotting with the *émigrés* against the revolution, we can easily appreciate the reasons for the National Assembly's attack upon the church. In the August days, the church tithes were abolished,

and the church forbidden to send any money payments to the Pope. In the succeeding months the National Assembly seized the church lands and as partial compensation therefor decreed that henceforth the clergy would be paid by the state. It reduced the number of bishoprics or dioceses to eighty-three to conform to the number of new departments. It abolished the religious orders, forbade the taking of monastic vows, and released from the observance of their vows all members of monasteries and religious orders. It proclaimed absolute religious toleration and finally in the summer of 1790 drafted and promulgated "The Civil Constitution of the Clergy."

This Civil Constitution of the Clergy made the church a state body, subordinate to the civil power and practically independent of the Pope. The bishops were henceforth to be elected by the citizens of the departments and the parish priests by the citizens of the districts. Every citizen,—Catholic, Protestant, Jew or infidel—was to have a voice in the choice of church officials. In short, a national church under the control of the civil authority was established. All the clergy were required to take an oath to support the Civil Constitution. Although many would have been better off under the scale of state salaries that would have been paid them, only four percent of the higher clergy submitted and less than a third of the seventy thousand parish priests. The non-juring clergy, as those who refused to take the oath were called, became bitter opponents of the revolutionary government. Large numbers of the people venerated the clergy and stood by them. The king, forced to approve the Civil Constitution, horrified by what he regarded as sacrilegious, became convinced that it was his duty to end the revolution and began to pursue a bolder and more definite policy of opposition. As a result of its harsh treatment at the hands of the revolution, the Catholic Church in the next century became bitterly suspicious of all reforms and in France became identified with monarchy and extreme conservatism. We shall later see how the problem of the relation of state and church continued to be an important factor in French politics.

The Drafting of a Constitution

The *cabiers* had rather unanimously expressed the opinion that little could be done in the direction of reforming finances until France had a constitution. The determination of the members of the third estate to give France a constitution is revealed by the Tennis Court Oath, and to the completion of this task the National Assembly directed a major portion of its efforts. After several parts had been adopted piecemeal, the constitution was elaborated into a single document and ratified by the king.

Since the constitution remained in effect but little more than nine years, a detailed description of it need not detain us. Montesquieu's influence is shown in the strict separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers. The growing distrust of the king is illustrated by the way his power was restricted. He was deprived of all control over the army and the church. He was given what is called a suspensive veto, that is, a bill vetoed by the king could become a law if passed by three successive legislatures. The distrust of the clergy and nobles is illustrated by the fact that the legislature was composed of only one chamber, the Legislative Assembly. Finally, the distrust of the masses as well as the triumph of the bourgeoisie is illustrated by the fact that only "active" citizens, that is, those who paid taxes equivalent to three days' wages, were entitled to vote. This property qualification excluded from the suffrage and from the right to hold office approximately one half of the citizens. It was, of course, in keeping with the contemporary practice in England and America where universal suffrage had not as yet been introduced, but it was glaringly inconsistent with the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which said that every citizen had a right to participate in the making of the laws.

The constructive work of the revolution was practically completed by the National Assembly. In two years a new France had been created,—abuses abolished, the church brought under control of the state, local governments reor-

ganized, the king's power limited. The Legislative Assembly, which superseded the National Assembly in October, 1791, had a stormy career. Within less than a year it found itself, in the midst of a foreign war, displaced by the Convention elected to draft a new constitution.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

There were various reasons for the difficulties of the Legislative Assembly. In the first place it was composed entirely of inexperienced men, since the National Assembly had passed a self-denying ordinance excluding its members from election to the new body. Secondly the Assembly found that more than the passage of laws and the enunciation of lofty principles was necessary for accomplishing permanent changes. The bourgeoisie who controlled both the National and the Legislative Assemblies were well satisfied with the revolution and well they might be. They were freed from guild and other restrictions on trade; interior customs lines had been abolished; they were free from the burden of unequal taxation; under the new constitution, with suffrage restricted to men of property, they controlled the government. Many of the peasants also were satisfied with what had been accomplished. Feudal dues and the *corvée* had been abolished; many of them had been able to buy farms of their own from the confiscated estates of the church.

There were two groups, however, who were dissatisfied with the revolution and ready to cause trouble. One, the emigrant nobles and the non-juring clergy thought that the revolution had gone too far. The other, the workingmen of the cities, particularly Paris, thought that the revolution had not gone far enough. This last class had gained nothing, and yet, by storming the Bastille, by the march of the women to Versailles and by aiding the bourgeoisie to get control of the local governments, they had saved the Assembly from early defeat. Directly they had practically no voice in the government, but indirectly they played an increasingly important part.

One reason for the ever-growing influence of the city workers was the ability and the faithfulness of some of their leaders. Three of them,—Marat, Danton and Robespierre—all of the bourgeoisie rather than the working class, deserve especial mention. Marat, a physician, was known even beyond the borders of France for his scientific research and writings. When the Estates-General met he started a newspaper, *The Friend of the People*, in which he insisted that the workers could not trust the bourgeoisie but must take matters into their own hands if they wished real reforms. As the revolution progressed, he became more violent in his language and more extreme in his ideas, more beloved by the people and more feared by the bourgeoisie.

Danton was a lawyer, brilliant, unselfish, handsome, eloquent. While he desired most radical ends he always opposed violent means of bringing them about. No one had more influence than he in shaping the course of the revolution during the period of the Legislative Assembly.

Robespierre was also a successful lawyer who had resigned his position as judge because he did not believe in the death penalty. He was less able than Danton and had little of Danton's personal charm, but his fanatical devotion to the teachings of Rousseau carried him far. Refined, cultivated, aristocratic in his tastes, he early became the spokesman for the most radical elements in the revolution. While his judgment at times left much to be desired, his honesty was beyond question.

One of the chief instruments for forming and controlling public opinion were the various clubs, of which the Jacobin was the most important. The club took its name from the confiscated Jacobin monastery where it met. Formed in the early days of the National Assembly, the Jacobin Club was originally made up of deputies favorable to the constitution who met to discuss plans for safeguarding the revolution against the plots of the reactionaries. Mirabeau and Lafayette were among its early members. Later, others who were not deputies were admitted, and as the club became more radical

under the leadership of Danton and Robespierre, the more conservative element withdrew. Affiliated clubs were formed in the provinces, the mother club at Paris becoming a center for the dissemination of radical ideas throughout France.

There were no clear-cut party lines in the Legislative Assembly, the great majority acting as individuals. There were, however, two main groups, the Conservatives who wished to maintain the constitution of 1791 and to strengthen rather than weaken the power of the king, and the Jacobins who wanted a republic. The Jacobins were divided into groups, the more moderate, called Girondists, since most of them came from the department of the Gironde in southern France, and the radicals, called the Mountain, because of the high seats they occupied in the chamber. The Girondists, mainly bourgeois lawyers, were theorists; they wished to proceed slowly in setting up their ideal republic. The Mountain, inspired and supported by the Parisian working class, wished to establish a republic for the benefit of the workers, immediately. The plots of the other group of extremists, the *émigrés*, played into the hands of the Mountain.

When the Legislative Assembly first met in September, 1791, the situation was already critical. The previous June the king and the queen, who were in communication with the *émigrés*, attempted to escape to the border to join them. The royal pair were captured at Varennes and brought back to Paris. The National Assembly tactfully pretended that the *émigrés* had tried to kidnap the king, but nevertheless the attempted flight was disastrous. It proved that the king and queen were opposed to the revolution. The radicals made much of it. They called a mass meeting at the Champs de Mars, a military drill ground near the city, to petition the Assembly to declare the throne vacant. The mayor of Paris called out the National Guard to disperse the crowd. The soldiers, angered by the insults of the mob, fired upon it, killing several women and children as well as men. The crowd broke up but the massacre was not forgotten.

The *émigrés*, annoyed at the failure of the king's flight, re-

doubled their efforts to arouse foreign intervention. They finally succeeded, August, 1791, in getting the kings of Austria and Prussia to issue the Declaration of Pillnitz, stating that the two rulers regarded the situation of His Majesty, the King of France, as a matter of common interest to all the rulers of Europe and that they would employ the most efficient means to place the King of France in a position to establish a government in harmony with the rights of sovereigns.

One of the first acts of the Legislative Assembly was a law that the *émigrés* who had not returned to France by January 1, 1792, be regarded as traitors and their property confiscated. The Girondists began agitating for war with Austria. They argued that it would force the King to show his hand definitely. Finally in April, 1792, Louis XVI, much against his will, declared war upon Austria,—the beginning of a series of wars which did not terminate until Napoleon's exile to St. Helena in 1814. The Legislative Assembly declared that the war was not a war of nation against nation, but the just defense of a free people against the unjust aggression of a king, that the "French nation only takes up arms for the maintenance of its liberty and independence." "Who will arrange themselves under its banners and consecrate their efforts to the defense of liberty?" The French people, singing Rouget de Lisle's *Marseillaise*, most stirring of all marching songs, rallied to the call, not to conquer territory but to spread liberty, equality, fraternity. There was born in France that spirit of national solidarity and love of country which was to become one of the most potent factors in the history of the nineteenth century. The war became a crusade. It was the chief agency by which the ideas of the revolution were spread throughout Europe.

The king soon gave the radicals good reason for questioning his sincerity. He vetoed a law which ordered all clergy who had refused to take the oath to the Civil Constitution to leave the country, and another law that called for the formation of a military camp outside of Paris to protect the capital. He

then dismissed the Girondist Ministry in charge of the government. The vetoes of the king, coupled with the early reverses suffered by the unorganized French army, awakened hot resentment. The king's position was further jeopardized by the ultimatum issued by the Duke of Brunswick, who was at the head of the forces opposed to France. The proclamation threatened that if, "the least violence be offered to their majesties, the king, queen and royal family, and if their safety and liberty be not immediately assured, an ever-memorable vengeance will be inflicted by delivering over the city of Paris to salutary execution and complete destruction."

The proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick produced an immediate effect in Paris, but quite contrary to what he expected. Aroused by impassioned speeches from radical leaders, the Parisian populace once again took matters into their own hands, seized the city hall, ousted the old municipal council and set up a new city government in which Danton was a conspicuous leader. Strengthened by soldiers, of whom there were large groups in and around Paris, the mob attacked the Palace of the Tuileries, the royal residence. Overpowering the Swiss Guard, the mob invaded the palace. The king and queen escaped to the Assembly where they were hidden in a reporter's box throughout the day and until three o'clock the following morning, while the Assembly discussed their fate. A committee from the Paris Commune demanded that the Assembly depose the king. The Assembly finally voted to suspend the king and ordered an election for a new National Convention to take the place of the Legislative Assembly and to draft a new constitution. The New National Convention which met in September, 1792, immediately deposed the king, abolished the monarchy and proclaimed France a republic. The first French Republic came into being on the 22nd day of September, 1792. The Convention ordered that it be called the first day of the year I—the beginning of a new era in human history in which despotism was gone forever and liberty enthroned in its place.

THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC

The First French Republic lasted until December, 1804, when Napoleon Bonaparte crowned himself emperor of the French. It is convenient to divide the twelve years of the Republic into three periods,—the period of the National Convention, when extreme radicals in control of the government waged successful war against foreign intervention and conducted the Terror; secondly the period of the Directory when the bourgeoisie were again in control; and lastly the Consulate, when Napoleon exercised a thinly-veiled despotism preparatory to taking the imperial crown.

Let us recall for a moment the varying shades of political opinion in France. In the National Assembly, the Royalists were in the majority, but were powerless to prevent the drafting of the constitution which limited the king's authority. In the Second or Legislative Assembly, the bourgeoisie, beneficiaries of the reforms and the constitution were in the majority. In the new Constitutional Convention the proletariat enjoyed control—only to lose it when reaction to the terror enabled the bourgeoisie again to triumph and retain the fruits of the revolution.

The Girondists and the Mountain were the two important political groups in the Convention, as they had been in the Legislative Assembly. Between these two extremes there was a doubtful indecisive group which first voted with the Girondists and then swung their support to the Mountain.

What to do with the deposed king, was one of the many problems confronting the convention. Louis Capet, as he was now called, was accused of having conspired against the liberty of the nation and of interfering with the general welfare. In December of 1792 "Citizen Capet" was found guilty by the Convention transformed into a Court of Justice and condemned to death. He was guillotined on June 21, 1793. His Queen, Marie Antoinette, met a similar fate the following October.

While the Convention debated the fate of the king, the French armies under Dumouriez were successful; the enemy was driven from France and the French took possession of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) where large numbers of the people hailed them as deliverers. The National Convention, emboldened by success, promised to free the peoples of Europe from the tyrants that oppressed them. In a proclamation of December, 1792, the Convention declared "We have conquered our liberty and we shall maintain it. We offer to bring this inestimable blessing to you, for it has always been rightly ours, and only by a crime have our oppressors robbed us of it. Show yourselves free men and we will protect you from their vengeance, their machinations, or their return. . . . The French Nation declares that it will treat as enemies every people who, refusing liberty and equality or renouncing them, may wish to maintain, recall, or treat with a prince and the privileged classes."

The boldness of this proclamation, coupled with the execution of the king in the following month, involved the Convention in serious dangers. Great Britain, Spain, Holland and Sardinia entered the war on the side of Austria and Prussia, against revolutionary France. The monarchs of Europe were frightened—the old regime must be preserved in their own countries and they felt that to do that it must be restored in France. Not only was the Convention harrassed by the increase in the number of its foreign foes but it also had to contend with revolt at home, particularly in the province of La Vendée, where there had long been criticism of the revolution's attitude toward the church. The insurrection spread throughout the provinces of France. Troubles were heightened by the presence of famine and hunger. The unwise overissue of *assignats* forced prices higher and higher. Lafayette had deserted the revolution after the storming of the Tuileries on August 10th, and now the ablest general of the revolution, Dumouriez, disgusted with the turn of events, went over to the enemy. The Convention itself was divided into two bitterly imposing factions. Could the Convention cope with

the tasks of reconciling factions, waging[†] successful war, suppressing domestic revolt and restoring some semblance of peace and order? It did.

The instrument used by the Convention was Terror,—the ruthless killing or arbitrary imprisonment of all those who opposed the Convention or who were even suspected of not being in sympathy with its actions. The Parisian proletariat began to criticize the Girondists—had not they hesitated to vote for the execution of the king?—why did they council delay?—was not Dumouriez, the traitor, one of their number?—did not the Girondists propose that the Convention be removed to some other city?—did they not propose the dissolution of the radical Paris Commune and denounce the violence of the Parisian mob? Then let them have a taste of that violence. Aroused by leaders of the Mountain and supported by the Paris Commune, the mob surrounded the Convention in the summer of 1793 and demanded the expulsion of the Girondist leaders. Their wish was complied with, the Girondists were placed under arrest and in the next few months were put to death. The Mountain was in control and began the Reign of Terror.

THE REIGN OF TERROR

As we study the Terror, we must remember that we have the advantage of 130 years of perspective. While we condemn the ruthless spilling of blood and the tyrannical oppression of the Terror we can perceive that it was a regrettable but none the less inevitable phase of the revolution. In itself it accomplished no reforms; the revolution was a fact before the Terror began. The Terror is significant because without it the revolution would have collapsed and its gains been lost. The Terror saved the revolution.

The Terror was an arbitrary, bloodthirsty thing. The Convention issued a decree, "the law of suspects," that members of the nobility, those who had held office before the revolu-

tion, relatives of the *émigrés*, those who did not possess certificates of citizenship, and those who were in any way suspected of being opposed to the revolution, were to be imprisoned. The decree was mercilessly carried out. The guillotine, however, not the prison, was the chief instrument of the Terror. The Convention entrusted the sole executive authority to the Committee of Public Safety, composed first of nine, later of twelve, men. Among its leading members were Danton, Robespierre, Marat, and Carnot. It was dictatorial, it acted secretly; it had charge of everything,—the army, foreign affairs, local administration. It had agents and spies everywhere. It was assisted by the Committee of General Security, whose duty it was to maintain law and order by arresting suspects, and by the Revolutionary Tribunal, a supposed court of justice, whose duty it was to try the prisoners. The Revolutionary Tribunal acted as it was expected to, quickly and with little regard for justice and mercy. At times, as many as twenty, thirty, or fifty prisoners were tried simultaneously and condemned to the guillotine.

The Terror was not confined to Paris, but was everywhere throughout France. It was used to suppress the domestic insurrections which cropped up, as we have seen, in La Vendée and the cities of Lyons, Bordeaux, and Marseilles. Hundreds were guillotined, thousands were imprisoned, property was confiscated and heavy fines imposed. At Lyons, one fanatical Jacobin drowned hundreds of citizens in the Loire.

In order to obtain funds the Committee of Public Safety imposed huge taxes upon the wealthy bourgeoisie,—to refuse payment meant death. It printed millions of *assignats* and prices soared. It established the law of the maximum price, which forbade merchants to sell their goods for more than a certain price. Owners of gold and silver were compelled to deliver to the government and receive paper *assignats* at par value in return. Food was requisitioned from the farmers who were paid with the almost worthless *assignats*. Famine and misery became common and in the larger cities the

government distributed rations of bread; in *many* districts the people had to live on roots, worms and grass.

As so often happens when a group achieves power, the Jacobin leaders started quarrelling among themselves. The Terror was used to get rid of personal enemies and to stifle factions. Jacobins as well as anti-Jacobins were put to death. One of the early advocates of Terror was Danton. He had advocated a Terror to curb opposition, to arouse the people, to defeat the enemy and to maintain order, but as he saw the fanatical use to which the Terror was being put, the indiscriminate butchery for the satisfaction of personal grudges, he began to urge moderation. This view was shared by others, notably Desmoulins, but there were other groups who wanted the Terror continued. Their chief leader was Robespierre, and in April, 1794, he succeeded in having the moderate Danton and some of his followers guillotined. Robespierre was now the unquestioned leader. There followed three awful months, April, May, and June, during which Robespierre endeavored to introduce the extreme theories of Rousseau. Reaction followed and in July, 1794, Robespierre, along with his fellow extremists, was sent to the guillotine. The National Convention, coming gradually under the influence of the moderate bourgeoisie, closed the Jacobin Club, set free the prisoners, restored the surviving Girondists to their seats in the Convention and started drafting a new constitution. Various efforts to gain control, sometimes by reactionary monarchists and sometimes by the proletarians, were made during the period of the White Terror, as this period of reaction is called—but without success. The people were sick of the Terror. In October of 1795 the Parisian populace made its last attempt to coerce the Convention. The Convention, however, had a military guard to defend it; a young and little known artillery officer, identified himself with the bourgeoisie, and mowed down the mob "with a whiff of grape-shot." His name was Napoleon Bonaparte.

What had the Terror accomplished? It saved France and it

saved the revolution. In Carnot, a member of the committee of Public Safety, France found an able army officer, whose success against the enemy was so decisive that his first title "Organizer of Defense" was changed to "Organizer of Victory." Troops were conscripted; the French people, men and women were called to fight or work. National feeling was aroused; France was a nation in arms, championing the cause of the revolution. Radical deputies of the Convention were sent as "Deputies on Mission" to spread the principles of the revolution, to watch the actions of the troops and generals, and report to the Convention. Their report was final. Failure on the part of the generals meant the guillotine. The new revolutionary generals of France were marvelously successful in the campaigns of 1794 and 1795. They drove the enemy from France, reoccupied the Austrian Netherlands and the territory up to the Rhine and forced their enemies with the exception of Great Britain, Austria and Sardinia to sue for peace. At home domestic insurrection was suppressed, quiet was restored, but misery and famine still lingered.

During the turbulent years of 1792 and 1795 the Convention put through many reforms which had a lasting value. Condorcet worked out a thorough system of universal popular education, and although it was not put into effect for some time, it is the basis for the present educational system of France. The Convention established a Normal School, a Polytechnic School, The Institute of France and a National Library. It adopted the famous metric system,—a convenient and uniform system of weights and measures based upon the decimal system which is now used by scientists everywhere except in English speaking countries where the old and cumbersome system of feet, yards, quarts and pounds still holds sway. Thirdly, the humanitarian impulse of the revolution is illustrated by the abolition of slavery in the colonies, and the abolition of imprisonment for debt. The churches were again opened for religious worship and liberty of worship was established. Fourthly, the Convention passed a series of decrees of an economic character that had far reaching effects. It con-

fiscated the property of the *émigrés*, confiscated ground rents, broke up the large estates and sold them on easy terms to the poor peasants in parcels of two or three acres. Fifthly, it made a beginning of the codification of French law, a task which was brought to completion by Napoleon. Two important legal reforms became imbedded in the French legal system,—one allowing women to obtain property on the same terms as men, the other, the fundamental law of inheritance, which prohibited a person from willing all his property to one child to the exclusion of the others.

In addition to these solid achievements, the Convention attempted a series of reforms that had no lasting value but illustrate the temper of the revolution. In their zeal for democracy all titles were abolished and the polite form of address "Monsieur" was supplanted by the title of "Citizen." Citizenship was generously conferred upon leading men in other countries,—Washington was among those so honored. Even the dress was changed; silk stockings and knee breeches (*culottes*) gave way to the long trousers worn by the working class, and the supporters of the revolution were referred to as *Sansculottes*. A new calendar was devised, which divided a year into twelve months of three weeks each, there were ten days in the week and the tenth day was a day of rest. The names of the months were changed to indicate the various seasons,—Vintage month, Flower month, Harvest month, Meadow month, etc. The purpose of the Revolutionary Calendar which took as its year I the day of the proclamation of the French Republic, September 22, 1792, was to erase all traces of Christianity; it illustrates the general agnostic spirit of the period. Lastly, the Convention drafted a constitution in which we can easily see the influence of the bourgeoisie. The suffrage was restricted to those tax payers who had resided for at least a year in one place. The legislature consisted of two houses, one preparing and the other enacting the laws, both chosen indirectly. The executive power was entrusted to a Board of Directors, consisting of five men, elected not by the people but by the legislature. This is known as the Con-

stitution of the year III and the government established is referred to as the Directory.

THE DIRECTORY

The Directory proved inefficient and corrupt. It was beset with domestic difficulties. There were many plots and intrigues both on the part of royalists and the Parisian workingmen. The continued over-issue of *assignats* forced the Directory into bankruptcy. Graft and corruption were prevalent. Business was poor, unemployment common and many were fed at public expense. The Directory maintained its power only with the support of the army. In Pichigru, Moreau, and Jourdan, the Directory found able successors to Dumouriez and Carnot; in the young Napoleon Bonaparte it had a military genius of the first order. The Directory sent an army across the Rhine and through southern Germany to attack Austria, and it also sent another army across the Alps which was to attack Sardinia and the Austrian possessions in Italy. This latter army was in charge of Napoleon. This first Italian campaign of Napoleon, as it is called, was brilliantly executed, brought Austria to terms, and won personal fame and glory for Napoleon. Great Britain alone continued the struggle against the Directory. In order to subjugate England, and to add further lustre to his name, Napoleon conceived of a spectacular campaign in Egypt, which he argued would cripple England's trade with India and weaken her control of the seas. The Directory, glad to rid itself of a popular hero, consented and Napoleon embarked for Egypt. Napoleon's campaign in the east was a failure, but news of the failure was kept from the French people, while the Directory's inefficiency and corruption at home was so glaring that it could not be concealed. England had induced Austria and Russia to join her in a war against France in 1799. Bonaparte abandoned the Egyptian expedition, returned to France and by a show of force overthrew the Directory and had himself appointed to the supreme military command. In a few weeks a new con-

stitution was promulgated and Napoleon was made First Consul. As many had predicted, the French Revolution ended with the establishment of military dictatorship. The career of the victorious Napoleon deserves a separate chapter, but before we engage ourselves with the study of his career, it will be profitable to pause for a while, look back over the French Revolution, see what contemporaries thought of it, and make an effort to estimate its significance.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The great events of history are great because they force a new solution to old questions, or at least force the world to develop a new attitude toward fundamental problems and mold its philosophy in new directions. We ourselves are living in such a period, because social and economic chaos, resulting from the World War, inevitably forces us to focus our attention upon such vital problems as the relation of one nation to another, the terrible waste of war, the gross inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the question of state control over private capital, prices and wages, and the question of legal equality for men and women. These problems are not new, just as the issues of the French Revolution were not new, but the upheaval of the revolution forced an answer to the questions then paramount; and today it is not unreasonable to expect that the tremendous dislocation occasioned by the World War will force a speedier solution of modern problems. Furthermore, just as at present the discussion on both sides of these questions is often violent and bitter—so too was the discussion of the issues of the French Revolution. Today we hear speeches and read books, pamphlets, and news articles on disarmament, reparations, bolshevism, world peace and state control of private capital. One hundred fifty years ago, statesmen and editors, in the drawing room and the street corner angrily debated the question of democracy and popular sovereignty, class privileges and social distinctions, liberty, equality and fraternity. Nor should we imagine that this discussion

was confined to France; it went on everywhere throughout Europe and the new republic of the United States.

We have already seen that the philosophic background of the French Revolution was supplied by the ideas of the Englishman Locke. The actual outbreak of the revolution furnished an opportunity for discussion of its underlying principles. It was, at first, welcomed with rejoicings. In England, the poet Wordsworth could sing of it:

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven;

and Charles James Fox exclaimed upon hearing of the fall of the Bastille that it was the greatest and best event that had ever happened. In 1790, however, Edmund Burke published his famous *Reflections on the Revolution in France* in which he contrasted the English and the French methods of reform. His essay is a defense of political conservatism and a strong protest against the individual rationalism of the eighteenth century. Burke's essay was hailed with delight by the governing classes throughout Europe. On the other hand, it was attacked by the scientist, Priestly, by Fox and by Mary Wollstonecraft, one of the pioneers in the agitation for women's rights. It called forth two powerful pamphlets, one by the Englishman, Mackintosh, who warmly defended France and truly predicted the spread of the revolutionary ideas beyond the borders of France; the other by the Anglo-American, Thomas Paine, whose writings at the beginning of the American Revolution had done so much to force the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Paine bitterly attacked monarchy and aristocracy, kings and nobles; his pamphlets sold by the tens of thousands and alarmed the ruling aristocracies of Europe. Various organizations were formed,—one was called "An association for preserving liberty and property against republicans and rebellists." Another was called, "Friends of the people." The revolution and its principles furnished the theme for much of the literature of the time. Byron and Shelley were

the poets of rebellion against convention and authority; the philosophy of Rousseau increased interest in the love of nature, noticeable in the literature of the period, and the philosophy of individualism supplies the background for Romanticism. The execution of the king, the Terror, and the attack upon the church, turned many against the revolution and the general effect in England was to leave a heritage of horror at the mere thought of revolution, and to delay reform for a generation.

For the most part, the situation was similar in the other countries of Europe. The early events of the revolution were received with a flood of praise. In Mainz, Hamburg, and other places, liberty poles were erected and celebrations held in honor of the storming of the Bastille; in Berlin women wore in the streets the tri-color badge of liberty, equality and fraternity. Later, there was a reaction toward extreme conservatism and a dread of change. In Germany, the great philosopher, Kant, remained a friend of the revolution, and published in 1789 an essay in which he contended "That the misdeeds of the Jacobins were nothing to those of the Tyrants of past times, and that the revolution, though outwardly a failure, would in the long run prove a blessing to mankind." Schiller was made a citizen of France, but its later horrors turned him into an antagonist; Goethe, Germany's greatest poet, wrote in praise of social and political revolt; the young Hegel at first welcomed the new ideas, but later became a staunch defender of the Prussian monarchy and an enemy of the revolution.

In the new country across the Atlantic, which the French had helped win its war of independence, public opinion was divided upon the merits of the revolution. The followers of Hamilton regretted French interference with stability and order, while the Republicans following the lead of Jefferson welcomed the revolution. Jefferson even declared that a revolution every twenty years or so was a good and wholesome thing. When the French became involved in war, the Federalists, as the party of Washington and Hamilton is called, advocated neutrality and Washington issued a neutral-

ity proclamation. But the ardent Republicans thought that America ought to fight on the side of liberty and do something to repay the French for their valuable help in the American Revolution. The question as to the attitude to be taken toward France was one of the most vital party issues for more than a decade.

Enough has been said to indicate that the influence of the French Revolution was widespread; that it left an indelible imprint far beyond the borders of France. The principles of the revolution were the basis for the political issues of major importance in all of Europe and America for the next hundred years. What were these principles? The French summed them up in the slogan, "liberty, equality, fraternity." Just what did they mean to the people of the time? What have they come to mean since?

Liberty, equality, fraternity, are not definite terms. There were many bitter debates in the various legislative bodies of the revolutionary period as to their meaning and as to what was necessary to put them into effect. In general, as interpreted by the bourgeoisie who were in control of France, "liberty" meant the end of the absolute power of the king, freedom from arbitrary arrest, freedom of religion, free speech, free press, freedom from the monopolies of the guilds and restrictions on trade. In other countries the demand for liberty was summed up in the demand for a written constitution and for the right of the people to vote for members of the legislature. "Equality" meant the abolition of privileged classes,—equality before the law, a uniform system of law for all persons and all places in the country. Although there were a few, condemned as "anarchists" and "levellers,"—Jacques Roux, Chalier, Rose Lacombe, Babeuf,—bold enough to point out that legal equality without economic equality was an empty phrase, equality as interpreted by the bourgeois lawmakers did not mean economic equality, and only in a limited sense, equality of opportunity. "Fraternity" meant that all the citizens of France should consider themselves united in a common brotherhood to uphold the ideals, traditions and in-

stitutions of France. We have seen that national spirit was an outgrowth of the feudal idea of loyalty to the lord and have seen how, with the rise of national states, it was changed to the idea of loyalty to the sovereign, how it grew with the growth of trade and the increased power of the state. The "fraternity" of the French revolution was the same national spirit changed from loyalty to the king to loyalty to the nation as a whole.

These words,—liberty, equality, fraternity—are still words to conjure with. To the conservative liberty means the right to be let alone, to be inviolate in his person and property. He is not free if the government can confiscate his property or control his business activities. In the United States Constitution freedom of contract has been guaranteed and only recently the Supreme Court decided that a minimum wage law of the District of Columbia interfered with the free right of the worker to work at any wage she desired and took away the property of the employer without due process of law. To the radical liberty means the right to do or say what he pleases. Who can define liberty? Is absolute liberty compatible with any organized government? We are gradually coming to see that laws themselves are less important than the interpretation of the laws. The famous line "I care not who makes a nation's laws if I may write its songs" might well be paraphrased, "I care not who makes a nation's laws if I may interpret them." It is to be expected that the group in control of any government will interpret "liberty" in its own interest. The World War with its Espionage and Defense of the Realm Acts showed us on what a slender reed many of our boasted liberties rest.

"Equality" too has many implications. If all men are equal can slavery be justified? Should not the state undertake the task of universal public education? We can trace to the principle of equality the humanitarian movement for the abolition of slavery and the beginnings of the agitation for a universal state system of education. The great extremes of wealth and poverty brought in by the industrial revolution have made

clearer the need for economic equality if there is to be any real equality of opportunity or even legal equality. Who would contend that the rich man, with all the legal talent his wealth can buy, is on a basis of equality with the poor man in our courts today?

The principle of "fraternity" has had results both good and evil. Love of country has stimulated men to do their best. Friendly rivalry between nations has raised standards everywhere. But when love of country has become, as it too often has, contempt for or hatred of other countries, it has been an unmixed evil. Fraternity or patriotism transformed into blatant nationalism or jingoism has been responsible for selfish imperialism, competition in armament and war. If the principle of fraternity implies the obligation of loyalty to one's country and brotherly cooperation with one's countrymen, why cannot the same principle be pushed beyond the borders of one's country? Why are all men not brothers as well as those who happen to reside within the boundaries of one nation?

Let us summarize:—The French Revolution left a heritage of protest and a flood of ideas that has permeated the literature and philosophy of all countries from that day to this. Concretely, it ended absolutism in France and gave rise to a demand for written constitutions and extended franchise in other countries. It abolished the feudal system and serfdom, destroyed the guilds, brushed aside the laws that interfered with trade, reduced the power of the Church, gave strength to the demand for religious toleration and the separation of Church and state, fostered the humanitarian movement, proclaimed the doctrine of the right of revolution and the sovereignty of the people, gave a new meaning to nationalism. Many of the political and social ideas which today are accepted as commonplaces originated with the French Revolution.

CHAPTER III

THE ERA OF NAPOLEON

THE revolution may be said to have ended with the coming of the Directory in 1795; it was certainly terminated with the coming of the Consulate and the triumph of Napoleon in 1799. From 1799-1814 Napoleon was master of western Europe, and the history of western Europe during those fifteen years is so inextricably woven with the deeds of Napoleon that his name aptly characterizes the era. In studying the Napoleonic Era, it will not profit us to go into the details of his many military victories and campaigns, but we shall devote our attention to noticing chiefly (1) How the revolutionary principles were preserved and given application under his skillful administration and (2) How his military campaigns served to spread the Revolutionary principles throughout western Europe. Incidentally, we shall note the steps by which the meteoric Napoleon gained and lost his power.

Napoleon Bonaparte, or as he first wrote his name, Napoleone di Buonaparte, was twenty years old when the French Revolution began, thirty years old when he became the First Consul in 1799, and forty-five when he was exiled to St. Helena. His career then is that of a young man and is so full of fascination that it not infrequently warps our judgment.

NAPOLEON'S EARLY CAREER

Napoleon was born of Italian parentage at Ajaccio, in the Island of Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769. France had just purchased the island from Genoa, and during his youth Napoleon cherished the hope that some day he might be the leader in securing the independence of his native land. The

young Napoleon along with other Corsican youths was selected by the French government for education in France. As a student at the military school at Brienne and later at Paris, he did not particularly distinguish himself, although he displayed a marked fondness for history and mathematics. He was trained for the artillery and was appointed a sub-lieutenant in the French army. He was an interested spectator of many of the events of the revolution. It was largely due to his suggestion that cannon be placed upon a promontory from which they could fire upon the English ships in the harbor, that Toulon was recaptured from the English and Spanish forces in 1793.

For a time he posed as a Jacobin and friend of Robespierre. Upon Robespierre's overthrow Napoleon was cast into prison, but the need of artillery officers saved him from death or prolonged imprisonment. He was ordered to take an infantry command in the campaign to suppress the revolt in the Vendée but, using ill health as an excuse, refused. The loss of prestige due to his refusal was more than offset by his brilliant defense of the Convention against the Parisian mob in 1795. Established in the good graces of the Directory, he drew up a plan for a campaign in Italy where the French army was being defeated. The Directory submitted it to the Commander of the Italian army for his approval. He replied that, "the man who formed it had better come to carry it out." So it came about that, in the early months of 1796, Napoleon, at the age of twenty-eight, was appointed to command the Army of Italy. It is probable that Napoleon owed this opportunity partly to a recognition of his own abilities and partly to the influence which his recently-acquired wife, Josephine, the charming widow of general Beauharnais, had over Barras, one of the Directors.

As we have seen, the French Republic had made peace with all its enemies, except England, Austria and Sardinia. Napoleon's First Italian Campaign (1796-1797) was directed against Sardinia and Austria. Brilliantly conceived, it was also brilliantly executed. He separated the Sardinians from

the Austrians and forced Sardinia to conclude a treaty by which she ceded Savoy and Nice to France. He then marched into Lombardy, defeated successive Austrian armies and wrung from Austria the humiliating peace of Campo Formio. By the terms of the treaty Austria ceded to France the Austrian Netherlands and the Ionian Islands, recognized the Cisalpine Republic, carved out of Lombardy the Duchy of Modena, some of the Papal territory and parts of the Venetian Republic, and agreed to help France secure a large part of the left bank of the Rhine. As compensation for the loss of the Netherlands Austria received the remainder of the Venetian Republic. The surrender of Venetia was contrary to Napoleon's promises to the Venetians and illustrates how easily he could break his word and bandy territories when it suited his purposes.

The cession of territory was not all that France acquired from Napoleon's conquest of Italy. Napoleon's troops lived upon the country, plundering the rich provinces of Italy. Napoleon levied heavy tribute on the peoples he conquered. From Modena he took ten million francs, from Genoa, fifteen, and from the Pope, twenty. In addition, Napoleon robbed Italy of its works of art and sent them to adorn the galleries of Paris. This process of enriching the museum of the Louvre with the art treasures of the world, Napoleon continued throughout his victorious career. Many but not all were returned to their owners after his fall. One of the lasting results of Napoleon's period of power was the permanent enrichment of the art galleries of Paris.

Napoleon was the idol of the army: they had moved slowly, they had been defeated, he marched them with lightning-like rapidity into successful engagements; they had been poorly paid and half starved; they were now well-fed and cared for. To the people of Paris he was the popular hero. Napoleon began to dream of the future. "What I have done so far is nothing. I am but at the beginning of the career I am to run. Do you imagine I have triumphed in Italy to advance the lawyers of the Directory?" But upon his return to Paris he concluded that the "pear was not yet ripe." His keen observa-

tion taught him that the Directory was losing strength, that its poor administration of affairs would soon merit the popular disapproval. But meantime he could not remain idle; he could not allow his newly won fame and glory to decline, he must keep the popular love for himself warm by new exploits and new successes.

England alone remained in the field against the French Republic. Napoleon's imagination lured him to the east and he announced to the Directory a bold plan for attacking England. England's greatness lay in her commerce, and in her control of the sea. "Our government must destroy the English Monarchy or it must expect itself to be destroyed by these active islanders. Let us concentrate our energies on the navy and annihilate England. That done England is at our feet." His plan was to attack and conquer Egypt, which he argued was the weak spot in England's commercial system and colonial empire. It did not belong to England, but it lay along the route to India, and he believed that India was the treasure house of England's riches and the cause of her greatness. Cut off communications with India by seizing Egypt, he argued, and the backbone of England's naval and commercial strength would be broken.

Napoleon convinced the Directory that England had humbled France; stirred up enemies against her, and lent money to the enemies of France. The possibility of acquiring an eastern empire seized hold of their imaginations. Moreover the presence of the popular Napoleon was dangerously uncomfortable to the continued power of the grafting directors.

In 1798 Napoleon set sail on his Egyptian Campaign. Along with soldiers, generals and military equipment, there went over one hundred scholars and scientists, who were to explore the ancient lands of Egypt and add to the store of human knowledge. One of the most important results of the Egyptian Campaign was the work of this band of scholars. A French army officer discovered on this expedition the famous Rosetta Stone, containing an inscription in hieroglyphics and Greek, which was deciphered some twenty years later and proved to

be the key which opened to the world our vast knowledge of ancient Egypt.

Napoleon eluded the English fleet under Admiral Nelson and arrived in Egypt. In the Battle of the Pyramids, Napoleon was successful, but in August of 1798, the French fleet in the Battle of the Nile suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Admiral Nelson. Napoleon was cut off from his communication with France. The sea power of England ruined his Egyptian plans; it was ultimately to ruin Napoleon. The defeat of the French fleet was a bitter blow to Napoleon but he decided to hang on saying, that the English "will compel us to do greater things than we intended." He invaded Syria, besieged Acr, and, although he returned defeated, he sent out bulletins which proclaimed his triumph. In July of 1799 he won the Battle of Abukir against the Turks. It was Napoleon's last fight in the East, for news from France caused him to change his plans.

A new coalition,—the second, had been formed. Austria and Russia had been induced to join England in her war against France. French armies were driven out of Italy and Germany. France itself was threatened with invasion. The country was bankrupt; the Directory was unpopular. Napoleon felt that his hour had come. Taking with him a few of his generals he deserted the army of Egypt and made his way to France. His journey from the coast to Paris was a triumph. The pear was ripe. He plotted with a few politicians, particularly with his brother Lucien and the Abbé Sièyes, one of the directors. And on November 9th and 10th (or the 18th and 19th Brumaire, according to the Revolutionary Calendar) executed his famous *coup d'état*. (*coup d'état*, a blow at the state, is a seizure of power by other than constitutional means, usually accomplished by a show of force. It is executed suddenly and with the threat rather than the actual use of violence. There have been several successful *coups d'état* in French history.) Napoleon surrounded the assemblies with troops, forced the overthrow of the Directors and had himself put in supreme military command. The French Revolution

may be said to have ended with the establishment of a military dictatorship, as Marat and Robespierre had feared and predicted; and yet in another sense we may consider the Revolutionary Period as continuing until the final overthrow of Napoleon.

THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

The constitution of the year VIII, which appeared a few days after the *coup d'état*, is a unique document. It was for the most part dictated by Napoleon who disliked the draft that had been prepared by the Abbé Sièyes. The government set up by the constitution is called the Consulate (1799-1804) because it entrusted the executive power to three Consuls of whom Napoleon was the first and chief. Practically all power was entrusted to the First Consul who could appoint officials, wage war, make peace and initiate legislation. For law making there were three bodies, one to propose them, one to discuss them, and one to vote on them, secretly. Finally there was a fourth body which was to guard the constitution, elect the consuls, the members of the legislative bodies. The constitution was a sham. It proclaimed universal suffrage but the complicated system of elections deprived the people of all influence. Absolutism had been established, despite the apparent forms and trappings of democracy.

Napoleon was clever enough to issue adroitly worded bulletins to the people in defense of his *coup d'état*. He even had the good grace or wisdom or consummate nerve to submit the constitution to a plebiscite, i.e. a popular referendum. The people overwhelmingly ratified the constitution.

Napoleon immediately turned his attention to the second coalition, proceeding to recover what the Directory had lost. He easily cajoled Paul, the half-witted Czar of Russia, to abandon the coalition and join "The armed neutrality of the North" against Great Britain. Against Austria, Napoleon sent Moreau, who was victorious in the Battle of Hohen Linden. He himself marched into Italy for his Second Italian

Campaign and defeated the Austrians at Marengo (June 14, 1800). Austria was again compelled to sue for peace and in February of 1801, the Treaty of Luneville reaffirmed and strengthened the provisions of Campo Formio. Still mistress of the sea but deserted by her allies, England, in March of 1802, agreed to the peace of Amiens, by which she recognized the French Republic and agreed to restore all French colonies except Ceylon and Trinidad. Europe enjoyed a brief year of peace.

Napoleon had once again secured an advantageous peace for France. French boundaries again reached to the Rhine; the Spaniards were allies; a series of dependent Republics surrounded France—Holland was the Batavian Republic, Switzerland the Helvetic, North Italy the Cisalpine, Genoa the Ligurian. Bonaparte was the popular idol; and he turned his popularity to good account. In 1802, a popular plebiscite made him Consul for life with a right to name his successor. Two years later a large popular vote made the office hereditary and changed the title of Consul to that of Emperor. In the Cathedral of Notre Dame, in December of 1804, in the midst of a brilliant assemblage and in the presence of the Pope, coronation ceremonies were held. Unlike Charlemagne, Napoleon did not allow the Pope to place the crown upon his head. That act he performed himself. Henceforth, General Bonaparte was Napoleon I, Emperor of the French. "I found the crown of France lying on the ground and I picked it up with my sword."

The establishment of the Napoleonic empire did not mean the negation of all that the revolution had stood for. Indeed the chief importance of the Napoleonic Period lies in the fact that Napoleon's control of France and western Europe helped to preserve and make permanent some of the gains of the revolution, and served at the same time to communicate them to other countries. The revolution was preserved in France by a series of administrative reforms which will presently be described. Chief among them was the ideal of equality. All men were equal before the law. The fact that Napoleon, son

of a poor Corsican lawyer, had become Emperor, forced him to accept the ideal of equality. The highest positions in the empire were open to all irrespective of the conditions of their birth. There were no exemptions from taxes. Guilds and economic monopolies were gone. No one class levied taxes on another; tithes and feudal dues were not restored.

On the other hand, Napoleon trampled on the principal of liberty,—“what the French people want is equality not liberty.” Free speech and free press would mean criticisms of Napoleon. Napoleon was a despot, albeit a benevolent one. Hundreds were imprisoned because they incurred his displeasure. Books and newspapers were censored; doctored news items were furnished to the press and not infrequently unpleasant bits of news were withheld from publication. Royalists plots and conspiracies were ruthlessly suppressed; on one occasion he ordered the execution of the Duc d’Enghien, a Bourbon prince, without any great reason, except that of setting the Bourbons an example. This suppression of liberty was continued by the masters of Europe who succeeded Napoleon. There developed a strong conservative reaction to any liberal ideas and tendencies, but the revolution and Napoleonic eras let loose tremendous forces;—the passion for equality, for nationalism, for liberty, would not down, and these are the forces which moulded nineteenth century history.

In a few externals, the establishment of the empire did away with some of the changes of the revolution. The revolutionary calendar was forgotten, the term *monsieur* was used again, the titles of nobility were restored—but no privileges went with the title. The emigrant nobles were allowed to return. The confiscated lands which had not yet been disposed of, Napoleon used to distribute as rewards to his deserving supporters.

NAPOLÉON’S PERMANENT REFORMS

It was during the consulate and during the brief period of peace that Napoleon inaugurated a series of reforms. It is for these rather than his military campaigns, brilliant as they

were, that he deserves to be remembered. They constitute the permanent and enduring land-marks of his era. We may conveniently discuss them under the following headings: (1) Centralization of Administration; (2) Financial Reforms; (3) Ecclesiastical Settlement; (4) Legal Reforms; (5) Educational Changes; (6) Public Improvements. X

Centralization of Administration

Napoleon was master of France. All the machinery of government, local as well as national, was brought under his immediate control. The National Assembly had divided France into Departments and provided for elective assemblies to exercise jurisdiction. Napoleon took power away from the local elective bodies and appointed prefects and sub-prefects to exercise jurisdiction. These prefects and sub-prefects were appointed by and responsible to Napoleon. Mayors of towns of more than five thousand inhabitants were likewise appointed by Napoleon. The prefects chose the mayors of the smaller communes. The police system of the large cities was under national control. Judges were appointed by Napoleon. This internal reorganization which insured for Napoleon a prompt, speedy and direct execution of his will has endured. France is today probably the best example of a unitary state in which all matters local, provincial and departmental in character though they may be, are directed and controlled by the central national authority. The governmental machinery of France originates and has its being in the national government.

Financial Reforms

We have learned that bankruptcy was the cause of dissatisfaction with the Directory in 1798 just as it had been the immediate occasion for the downfall of the absolute monarchy. Napoleon put France on a sound financial basis. He levied heavy tributes upon those whom he conquered; he practised economy; he punished severely dishonesty in handling the funds of the state; he vigorously enforced the collection of

taxes. He levied protective tariffs. He redeemed large amounts of the depreciated paper money, the *assignats*. His greatest financial achievement was the organization of the Bank of France, a task which he undertook in 1800, a few months after the *coup d'état* which brought him power. It became the banking institution of the government, and was the depository for national funds. It had the right to issue paper currency and, in the course of time, other banks which had the right of issue were absorbed by the Bank of France. It established branches throughout France. Throughout the century it remained one of the soundest of financial institutions and still endures as one of Napoleon's great achievements.

Ecclesiastical Achievements

It will be remembered that the French Revolution by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the confiscation of Church lands alienated the support of the clergy and large numbers of the French people. In an effort to win over to his side the powerful influence of the clergy, Napoleon entered into a treaty or concordat with the Pope, which governed the relations between church and state in France until the anti-clerical legislation of the opening years of the twentieth century. By the concordat of 1801 the Church agreed that the holders of confiscated church property would not be disturbed; that the First Consul should have the right to nominate the bishops, who in turn were to appoint the parish priests, subject to the approval of the government. As compensation for the loss of property the government agreed to pay the salaries of the clergy. By this arrangement, Napoleon brought the Catholic Church in France under the virtual control of the civil government. It helped considerably in consolidating his own position, an advantage which he later lost by his divorce of Josephine and by his attack upon the Papal States. Throughout the century the close connection between church and state established by the concordat continually caused political friction over what was called the clerical question.

Legal Reforms

In the field of law, Napoleon carried to completion the promise of the National Assembly and the work that had been inaugurated during the Convention. Able committees of lawyers under the leadership of Combacères were appointed to codify the laws of France; after years of labor they completed a set of civil, criminal, commercial and penal codes as well as a code of civil and criminal procedure (by a code is meant a brief, systematic digest of the laws). In after years, Napoleon looked back upon the Code Napoleon as his greatest achievement. It embodied in law many of the ideas of the revolution. It provided for the doctrine of civil and religious equality, freedom from arbitrary arrest, trial by jury and the abolition of serfdom. The code was simple and uniform, applying to all of France, doing away with the cumbersome legal inconsistencies that had been one of the evils of the old regime. It is still the basis of French law, and has had considerable influence upon the legal systems of other countries of continental Europe.

Educational Reforms

Napoleon projected bold plans for an educational system which, because of lack of funds, were not completely worked out during his era, but which subsequently determined the French educational policy. As Combacères was the guiding spirit in legal reform, so Condorcet was the genius behind the educational system. The plans provided for elementary, grammar, and high schools or *lycées*. Private schools were to be under the control of the government and many of the teachers were to be appointed by the state. The famous Normal School was established at Paris for the training of teachers, and technical military schools were brought under state control. Lastly, the whole educational system was to be directed by the University of France, which was to license all schools and to maintain a general uniformity of standards

(the University of the State of New York, controlled by "the Regents," is modelled upon the University of France, endeavoring by examinations and other means to secure uniformity of instruction throughout the State of New York). During Napoleon's lifetime most of the education was still under private control, chiefly that of the Catholic Church.

Public Improvements

Napoleon endeavored to conciliate the bourgeoisie by instituting a series of internal improvements. Millions of francs were spent in the repair of old roads and the construction of new ones, numerous bridges were built, marshes were drained, water-ways were made navigable, and a veritable network of canals was projected to the great benefit of internal commerce. The splendid highway system of modern France owes its origin to the work of Napoleon. In addition to these public improvements of a practical character he undertook to rebuild and beautify the state palaces. He aimed to make Paris the metropolis of Europe. Parks and boulevards were laid out. The Louvre was completed and housed the works of art which Napoleon had seized in his campaigns.

Napoleon dreamed of reconstructing the French colonial empire, but in this he failed. In 1800, by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, Napoleon induced Spain to cede back to France the vast stretch of Louisiana territory which France had originally explored and occupied, but which France had ceded to Spain at the close of the Seven Years War, 1763. After an attempt to get possession of the island of Haiti, foiled by a revolt of the natives and by the British fleet, Napoleon gave up and sold Louisiana to the United States.

During the Consulate and the early years of the empire, Napoleon was popular. He made an effort to conciliate all factions. The emigrant nobles, as we have seen, were permitted to return and allowed to resume their titles. His loyal followers he rewarded with titles of nobility, or with membership in the famous Legion of Honor, organized by Napoleon

for the purpose of honoring conspicuous service to the state, in war, diplomacy, literature or art. He won the support of the clergy by his settlement of the ecclesiastical question by the *concordat* of 1801; he conciliated the peasantry because he did not interfere with their purchase of the church lands, and the bourgeoisie because of his financial schemes, his internal improvements and the encouragement he extended to trade and industry. Furthermore, in a few brief years, his brilliant military victories stimulated the patriotic fervor of the French, and made them feel that under this genius they were once again to see France occupy the position of power and importance which they felt belonged to her. The French day of glory was at hand.

NAPOLEON AT THE HEIGHT OF HIS POWER

We have seen that in 1802 England made the peace of Amiens with Napoleon. It was in reality a truce, lasting but little over a year during which time Napoleon continued to improve his army and navy. War broke out in May of 1803. Napoleon seized Hanover, an English possession on the continent, blockaded the coast, and made extensive preparations along the English channel, centering about Boulogne, ostensibly for an invasion of England. He even had medals struck to commemorate his success. Under the younger Pitt, the English resorted to the methods of defense that had proved so successful under the elder Pitt, the Earl of Chatham. The policy of Pitt and succeeding Prime Ministers consisted chiefly in maintaining a blockade of the coast, preying upon French commerce, seizing French colonies, inducing continental states to wage constant war upon the Corsican, promising to keep them supplied with money. England needed continental allies to offset her lack of a large well-equipped army. In 1805, Pitt succeeded in persuading Alexander I, the Czar of Russia, to enter into an alliance; the kind-hearted Czar was alarmed at Napoleon's ruthless execution of the Duc d'Enghien, he feared that Napoleon's dream of carving up the Turkish empire

would frustrate his own ambitions. Austria and Sardinia were also prevailed upon to join England and Russia, in the "third coalition." Both England and Napoleon manoeuvred to secure the support of Prussia, but that country remained neutral,—only to enter the war on the side of the coalition when it was too late.

Napoleon's great advantage in the war which ensued was the lack of unity and cooperation among his enemies. He marched against army after army and defeated them all. He wrote to Josephine, "I have destroyed the Austrian army by means of marches alone." He abandoned his contemplated invasion of England and hurled his well-trained army of French and Spanish soldiers against the Austrians, defeated them at Ulm, October 20, 1805, marched along the Danube, entered Vienna in triumph, and on December 2, 1805, at Austerlitz, won probably his most famous battle by routing the combined Russian and Austrian armies. He compelled Austria to sign the humiliating Peace of Pressburg; by it Austria ceded to Napoleon Venetia and the Dalmation Coast; the German states of Baden and Bavaria which had supported Napoleon were compensated by receiving territories from Austria.

Prussia at length yielded to British demands and entered the lists against Napoleon. They were crushingly defeated in the battles of Auerstadt and Jena (October 14, 1806). The Russians were still in the field; Napoleon engaged them in an indecisive conflict at Eylau and with characteristic deception reported the battle as a victory. Four months later, however, he so decisively defeated the Russians at Friedland, June 14, 1807, that the czar sued for peace. The czar and Napoleon met on a raft moored in the middle of the Niemen River and began the negotiations which culminated in the Treaties of Tilsit. Napoleon outdid himself in cajoling the czar, who was impressed with his ability and fascinated by his personality. It was assumed that the two would divide Europe between them,—the czar would be the great ruler of the North and East, Napoleon of the South and West of Europe. The two emperors concluded an offensive and defensive Treaty of Al-

liance. Alexander could proceed against Sweden, deprive her of Finland and could also take certain parts of the Turkish Empire. (Russia in 1809 defeated Sweden and forced her to cede Finland and the Aaland Islands to Russia. The Czar agreed not to interfere with Napoleon's plans in the rest of Europe and offered to act as a mediator between France and England. In the event that England would not make peace he was to assist Napoleon in shutting the ports of Europe to British Trade and in this way bring the proud islanders—the haughty nation of shopkeepers as Napoleon called them—to terms. A commercial blockade might accomplish what the sword could not.

Napoleon had overcome England's allies but not England. In October of 1805, off Cape Trafalgar on the Spanish coast, the combined French and Spanish fleet was annihilated. Lord Nelson who commanded the English fleet lost his life but won forever a lasting place in the hearts of his countrymen. England was undisputed mistress of the sea. France was supreme on land. It was seapower versus land-power. Which would win?

Before discussing the struggle between France and England let us examine the Europe that the Corsican adventurer now had at his feet. First we will outline Napoleon's reorganization of the Germanies.

It will be remembered that there was no united Germany in 1800. There were hundreds of states, some strong, like Prussia and Austria, but most of them small and weak, yet each claiming to be sovereign and independent, loosely federated into what was honored by the dignified title of the Holy Roman Empire. This Empire traced its origin back to the days of Otto the Great in the tenth century. The emperorship had been elective at first, but had become hereditary in the House of Hapsburg. At the opening of the nineteenth century there were three hundred distinct principalities, dukedoms, kingdoms, free cities; in addition there were over a thousand petty fiefs belonging to Knights of the Empire or Churchmen,—a survival of feudal days. A unified national

German State could not be formed so long as each one of this hopelessly confused mass of petty states claimed sovereignty.

Napoleon began the process of amalgamation and consolidation. By the Treaty of Luneville (1801), German States on the left bank of the Rhine had been added to France. Austria agreed that the rulers who thus lost territory should be compensated by acquiring territory on the right bank of the Rhine. To accomplish this it was decided that ecclesiastical lands belonging to bishops, archbishops and monasteries and the small fiefs of the knights should be confiscated and transferred to lay princes who had lost territory. The Diet of the Holy Roman Empire undertook this amalgamation between 1801 and 1803, and its work is called the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*. In reality Napoleon's minister Talleyrand directed the way in which territories would be exchanged. As a result of this reorganization the total number of German states was now less than a hundred. The chief beneficiaries apart from Austria and Prussia were the Southern states of Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Baden; these states Napoleon hoped to use as a buffer to the possible ambitions of Prussia and Austria. The rulers of Bavaria and Wurtemberg henceforth assumed the more dignified title of King.

After the defeat of Austria and Prussia (1805-1806) Napoleon carried still further the work of reorganization. The Emperor Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire was informed by Napoleon (1806) that he would no longer be recognized as Emperor and so on August 6, 1806 he abdicated his ancient imperial title and became Francis I, Emperor of Austria. In the same year Napoleon organized the Confederation of the Rhine which included the states of Bavaria, Baden and Wurtemberg. Napoleon was made Protector of the Confederation, which was pledged to supply 63,000 men for his use. Two years later Napoleon organized the Kingdom of Westphalia with territories taken from Prussia, Hanover, and other states, gave it to his brother Jerome and added it to the Confederation of the Rhine.

This reduction of the number of German states is important

because it paved the way for the later organization of the Germanies into a national State. It also had an effect of immediate importance. The social reforms of the French Revolution were communicated to Central Europe. The Code Napoleon was put into operation; feudalism was destroyed; titles were abolished; the principles of legal equality and religious toleration were established. The Germanies were dominated by a foreigner, but they acquired the benefits of the social changes incident to the French Revolution.

These territorial changes and social reforms were imposed by Napoleon, but within Prussia, defeated and humiliated by the armies of Napoleon, there occurred after 1807 a remarkable rejuvenation and national awakening which was destined to play no little part in the undoing of Napoleon, and which in time made Prussia a great state and prepared the way for Prussian leadership in one of the great nationalizing movements of the nineteenth century,—the formation of the German Empire. The outstanding leaders in promoting this rejuvenation of Prussia were Baron von Stein (1757-1831), Chancellor Hardenburg (1750-1822), and Scharnhorst. These men hoped to arouse the masses to a war of liberation against the hated Corsican and they felt that the populace could best be awakened by bringing about a complete social and political change in Prussia. Serfdom was abolished; the caste system prevailing in Prussia which made it impossible for nobles, citizens and peasants to acquire each others' lands, was done away with, and land could be bought and sold; occupations were open to individuals of every class. The government was reorganized and strengthened; local self-government was granted to Prussian towns and villages. Napoleon forced the dismissal of Stein, who had indiscreetly encouraged renewed resistance to the French Emperor, but after a few years the work Stein had planned and organized was carried forward by Hardenburg. He assisted the peasants, much to the chagrin of the nobles, in acquiring possession of their own farms. An army reorganization committee under the leadership of Scharnhorst reformed the Prussian army. Compulsory military serv-

ice was introduced; high commands were taken away from the incompetent nobility. Napoleon had stipulated that the Prussian army would be limited to 42,000, but as soon as that number had been drilled and trained they would be discharged and a new group would be called to the colors. This was the beginning of the system of compulsory universal military training which has been the curse of Europe ever since.

These reforms aroused a truly national feeling among the people of Prussia. It was abetted by the organization of secret patriotic societies, by the writing and speeches of philosophers and literary men,—notably the famous German philosopher Fichte, and lastly by the introduction of thorough educational reform, led by von Humboldt, and the founding of the great university of Berlin. Prussia rapidly became a nation, conscious of its strength and power, eagerly awaiting the War of Liberation. When Napoleon next faced the Prussians in the field, he found the people of Prussia as well as kings and aristocrats opposed to him. Similar nationalizing movements took place in Spain and Italy. Against this fierce nationalism the armies of Napoleon were powerless.

It was from the years 1808 to 1812 that Napoleon was at the height of his power. The boundaries of the French Empire had expanded to include the Netherlands (Belgium and Holland), the northwestern part of Italy, the Papal States and the Illyrian provinces lying along the Adriatic coast. Over this area Napoleon was direct and absolute master, calling himself, Emperor of the French and king of Rome.

Napoleon had created several kingdoms which were under his protection and ruled over by his relatives and friends: The kingdom of Spain, the kingdom of Italy, the kingdom of Naples, the Confederation of the Rhine, which included the kingdoms of Westphalia and Bavaria, and the duchy of Warsaw. He could count as friend the Czar of Russia who had acquired Finland and subdued Sweden. He had defeated Prussia and humiliated Austria. England remained his bitter and undefeated enemy.

THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

Napoleon had been able and was still able to crush all his enemies, save one—England. The source of England's strength was her control of the sea. Although England induced other nations to war against Napoleon, the Napoleonic wars were fundamentally a struggle for supremacy between England and France, and it was primarily an economic and commercial struggle. England had deprived France of a large part of her colonial empire in the eighteenth century. England had become mistress of the seas and she sought to maintain the advantage in trade and commerce which such control assured her. She first entered the war with France in 1793; her aristocratic ruling class was frightened by the revolution. As the war dragged on, as French arms were successful, as France acquired territory and as Napoleon achieved the mastery of Europe, Englishmen felt that their commercial and trading enterprises on the continent of Europe were threatened. The French bourgeoisie from whom Napoleon derived his chief support regarded the crushing of England as essential to the development of their prosperity; while on the other hand the English landowner, manufacturer and trader whose profits were multiplying because of England's colonial empire felt that Napoleon's defeat would give them continued prosperity and probably new sources of wealth. Napoleon early recognized, as his Egyptian campaign illustrates, that England was his most dangerous and implacable foe. But no matter how he tried, he could not weaken England's control of the sea. At the Nile and at Copenhagen the British fleet was victorious, and at Trafalgar Nelson won undying fame for himself and established beyond question the supremacy of England at sea. England was the permanent barrier to Napoleon's ambitions.

Napoleon attempted to strike at England by cutting off her markets on the continent,—the so-called continental system. Europe can get along without England. Europe can be

economically self-sufficient, but the English need Europe for their prosperity, thought Napoleon. The Continental System is sufficiently illustrated by decrees he issued at the cities of Berlin and Milan. The Berlin decree of November, 1806, declared that the British Isles were in a state of blockade, that all commerce with the British was illegal; that Englishmen found in Europe would be treated as prisoners of war; that goods of Englishmen in Europe would be seized as prizes of war. The Milan decree of December, 1807, declared that neutral vessels setting sail from British ports would be seized. The British replied by declaring that all vessels trading with France would be seized, except neutral vessels which first touched at an English port.

The issue was clearly joined. The English had one paramount advantage over the French. Because of her control of the seas she could enforce her Orders in Council. Napoleon's decrees could not be enforced; his was a "paper blockade." From 1806 onward Napoleon labored to crush England by means of his Continental System; but the system failed and its failure was the beginning of the end of Napoleon. It was a two-edged weapon. If England lost her trade with the Continent, the Continent lost the goods which English ships brought them. Europe wanted the cloth, the sugar, the coffee, the tea, the machinery which England sold. To produce them herself or to transport them in her own ships meant a complete readjustment of her economic structure which could not be undertaken without great difficulties. An effort was made to develop the use of substitutes without any great success (although it did lead to important discoveries and improvements). Smuggling went on apace. Napoleon, and the English too, issued licenses allowing the evasion of their own decrees. Napoleon himself bought English goods for the use of his army. The people suffered tremendous hardships, and groaned with discontent. The miseries inflicted on the mass of the people stimulated the growth of a spirit of revolt against Napoleon, and, along with other causes, led to national uprisings against him.

The trade war between England and Napoleon brought anxious days to neutral states and particularly to America. American vessels were seized by both English and French; the English impressed American sailors. In a fruitless effort to defend the rights of neutrals the American government resorted to an embargo, forbidding all vessels to leave American ports. It had the effect of ruining American shipping and so aroused the resentment of the New England shipping interests against Jefferson's administration that the embargo was lifted and the government attempted to deal with the situation by non-intercourse acts which forbade trade with England or France. Finally the United States engaged in the War of 1812 with England which dragged on after Napoleon had been defeated.

NAPOLEON'S DOWNFALL

One of the weakest spots in the Continental System was the Iberian Peninsula, containing the kingdom of Spain, allied to Napoleon, and Portugal, which was bound to England by the strongest commercial ties (dating from a treaty of 1703). Portugal refused to join the Continental System and close her ports to English goods. Napoleon, aided by Spanish troops, crossed the Pyrenees, proclaimed the Continental System in effect, and drove the Portuguese royal family to seek refuge in their colony of Brazil. Napoleon felt that his ultimate success depended on complete control over the whole peninsula. His troops occupied Spain. This the Spanish people resented; they began to rise in revolt. In this they were half-heartedly encouraged by their king, Ferdinand VII, the former ally of Napoleon. Napoleon imprisoned him and set up his brother Joseph as king of Spain. But Napoleon soon found that he had to contend with the new forces that he himself had let loose. Formerly he had humbled kings and princes—now he must deal with peoples. The Spaniards refused to accept Joseph as their king. Peasants as well as nobles joined in the organization of Revolutionary committees (*Juntas*) and forced Joseph to flee.

The English saw their opportunity. George Canning, the British Foreign Minister, summed up the English program: "We shall proceed upon the policy that any nation of Europe" which starts to oppose Napoleon, "instantly becomes our ally." British armies and money were sent to aid the Spanish and Portuguese. Sir Arthur Wellesley, later famous as the Duke of Wellington, the victor at Waterloo, was sent to command the British forces. What is called the Peninsular War began. Suffice it to say that Napoleon could not dislodge Wellington and his troops. The French campaign in the Peninsular War failed—the French were being defeated on land. One important event that took place in Spain during the conflict was the drafting of a liberal constitution in which were incorporated all the essential principles of the French Revolution.

The Napoleonic Empire slowly began to crumble. The Continental System and its failure was the first cause; the Spanish revolt and the Peninsular War was the second. A series of national uprisings now endangered Napoleon. The Austrians prematurely took the field against Napoleon and were defeated for the fourth time—the Battle of Wagram, 1809. Napoleon, after divorcing Josephine, forced the Austrian Emperor to give him his daughter Maria Louisa in marriage. Josephine, whom Napoleon still loved as much as he was capable of loving anyone, was cast aside because he wished the prestige which he hoped a marriage with a Hapsburg would bring and also because he longed for an heir. A year after his second marriage a son was born to him—the ill-fated *l'Aiglon*. King of Rome was the pompous title the overjoyed father bestowed upon him.

Despite Napoleon's triumph over Austria, his position continued to weaken. The Continental System was causing great unrest; the English were in Spain; finally his friend the youthful Czar Alexander showed signs of dissatisfaction with the arrangements that had been made at Tilsit. The Czar did not like Napoleon's organization of the Duchy of Warsaw, and in his warfare against Turkey it was the English and not the French who aided him in acquiring territory. Furthermore,

and probably most important, agricultural Russia could not get along without manufactured goods. The Continental System was ruining Russia. The Czar broke with Napoleon and resumed trade relations with England. Napoleon, despite the warning of his wisest advisers, felt that there was nothing to do but crush Russia and compel adherence to the Continental System. Obdurately he collected a huge and motley army of 600,000—French, Germans, Poles, Italians, Danes. The Czar concluded treaties with England and Sweden, where Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's former marshals, was seated on the throne and now decided to turn against his former master.

Napoleon's invasion of Russia began in the summer of 1812. The Russians retreated and retreated, Napoleon pursuing, but unable to engage his elusive foe in decisive battle. Skirmishes and raids thinned his ranks and angered him; he doggedly marched on and on into the interior of Russia where he found it difficult to provide food for his men and horses. In a bloody battle at Borodino he suffered severe losses but a few days later entered Moscow in triumph. Entering Moscow, however, did not mean the defeat of the Russians. Moscow was soon in flames,—the fire was probably started by the inhabitants who rose in revolt against the foreigner. Winter was approaching; supplies were lacking; the skirmishes of the Russian army exasperated when they did not inflict considerable damage. Russia's vast distances, wind and snow, cold and sleet, accomplished what the combined armies of Europe could not. Napoleon finally decided to retreat from Moscow—one of the most disastrous retreats in history. Blinding snowstorms, swollen streams, abandoned baggage, exhausted soldiers, weary marches through the desolate and plundered country, annoying attacks by the Russian forces in the rear, marked the slow but complete destruction of the "grand army." A mere remnant of his army reached Prussia in safety. A half million soldiers had been sacrificed.

The hour for Napoleon's enemies had come. Rejuvenated and awakened, Prussia took quick advantage. Russia, Prussia, England and Sweden allied, and they were shortly joined by

Austria. The War of Liberation began. Napoleon with accustomed vigor hastily recruited a new army. Fighting of no great consequence went on during the spring and summer of 1813. On October 16, the great Battle of Leipzig, the "Battle of the Nations," began. It raged for three days. Napoleon was beaten; he was forced to retreat across the Rhine. Prussia was free. The War of Liberation had been successful. At bay, attacked by victorious armies crowding upon him from the East and Wellington's army coming northward from the Spanish Peninsula, Napoleon did some of the most brilliant fighting of his whole career. But the odds were too great. The allies achieved solidarity by binding themselves not to make a separate peace until Napoleon was overthrown. Paris surrendered in March, 1814; in April, Napoleon abdicated. He was allowed to rule over the small island of Elba situated in the Mediterranean near his native Corsica.

Twenty-two years before, foreign nations had endeavored to intervene in French affairs. They had at last succeeded. But immense changes had taken place. France—and Europe as well—had undergone a social and political regeneration. The allies put the brother of the executed Louis XVI upon the throne of France. He took the title of Louis XVIII making believe that the young son of Louis XVI had reigned as Louis XVII until his death in 1795 and dating the beginning of his own reign from that time on. Louis XVIII, however, did not undertake to rule absolutely. He granted the French people a royal charter, making himself a limited monarch, guaranteeing the social reforms of the revolution and the liberties proclaimed in the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The nations did not dare undo the social and political achievements of the revolution. But the map of Europe, greatly altered by the little Corsican, had to be readjusted. To this difficult task the sovereigns of Europe and their ministers addressed themselves in 1814. Quarrels broke out between them over the division of the spoils. Just at this juncture an egotistic and ambitious dreamer eluded the British patrol in the Mediterranean, landed at Cannes with a thousand men and

determined to make a last desperate gamble for the stakes of power and empire.

On March 1, 1815, Napoleon began the "hundred days" of his return. His march from Cannes to Paris was a triumph. Generals sent to capture him deserted to his side. The bravest of the brave, Marshal Ney, who had so brilliantly covered his retreat from Moscow, joined him. Louis XVIII fled. Napoleon issued a stirring proclamation to the French people, awakening old memories and promising to restore the heritage of 1789. Soldiers rallied to his standard; he soon had an army of 200,000 men. In the face of their old and common danger, the allies forgot their quarrels. Wellington and Blücher were soon in the field against him. Napoleon decided to use his old strategy—separate them and defeat them singly. Moving to the Belgian frontier, by forced marches he placed himself between them. He defeated Blücher in the morning of June 18, and not taking the trouble to pursue him, marched on to face Wellington at Waterloo. The battle raged all day. Napoleon's old guard fought gloriously, but in vain, for the lines of Wellington held. In the late afternoon, Blücher, whom Napoleon had mistakenly thought to have been routed, came up with reinforcements which turned the tide, routed the French, and made Waterloo ever memorable as Napoleon's last battle. Napoleon abdicated a second time in favor of his son and threw himself upon the mercy of the British. He was taken to the rocky island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic.

Here, for the next six years, he lived, a broken and dejected figure. He devoted his time to dreaming about past glories, musing over his campaigns and dictating his memoirs. He pictured himself as "the son of the revolution" fighting for liberty, equality, fraternity, for the oppressed peoples of Europe. He died May 5, 1821. His last request that he be buried on the banks of the Seine was carried out in 1840. His exile enabled Napoleon to "arrange a pose before the mirror of history." As time passed and memories dimmed, the prisoner of St. Helena was transfigured as a martyr. Under him, France had been glorious, great—feared by the nations

of Europe. There developed a Napoleonic legend. We shall see that the glamor that surrounded the memory of the first Napoleon helped to prepare the way for another Bonaparte to establish a second empire in France.

NAPOLEON'S PLACE IN HISTORY

There have been various estimates of Napoleon. He was a keen observer, he was an industrious and tireless worker. He was a good judge of men, he was able to inspire affection. His soldiers, whole companies of whom he could call by name, idolized him; they affectionately referred to him as the "little corporal." His generals gave him of their best. To himself and his devoted followers he appeared indeed the "man of destiny." He was a consummate politician with an actor's sense of doing the right thing at the right time. He is usually considered a military genius of the first order, yet many of his campaigns have been severely criticized. Once he is accorded greatness as a military organizer and strategist, a politician and civil administrator, all the good that can be said of him has been said. In his character there was little to be admired. He was vain, self-centered, ruthless, unscrupulous, over-ambitious. Anything which interfered with his plans was brushed aside, no matter how. "Morality has nothing to do with such a man as I am," said he. He was a poser and a hypocrite, appealing to revolutionary principles only to trample on them when it suited his convenience.

The fundamental reasons for his failure were, first, his own all-consuming ambition. He was not content to be first among the great, he must be the only great. Napoleon doubtless suffered from what psychoanalysts call an inferiority complex. He could never forget that he started from humble beginnings, that he was a usurper. He must continually be doing something extraordinary. He must show the world that he and his family were really worthy of their high position. How else can we explain his constant aping of royalty, his pushing members of his family into positions for which they were

unfitted and where they were a liability to him? How else can we explain his eagerness to marry into the proud Hapsburg family, his obsession for an heir to perpetuate his name?

A second fundamental reason for his downfall was the rising tide of nationalism which he had encouraged for his own ends and which now turned against him, intensified by hatred of his callousness and tyranny. The immediate causes of his downfall were, first and foremost, the sea power of his implacable enemy England, the collapse of the Continental System, the revolt of Spain and Prussia, and the disastrous retreat from Moscow which inevitably led to the defeats at Leipzig and Waterloo.

Of what significance is his career in history? To some his career is interesting and spectacular, but lacking in any real significance. But it can be claimed that his organization and control of Europe did much to communicate the ideas of the French Revolution to Europe; that he helped both directly and indirectly to arouse the spirit of nationalism, which became the most potent force in nineteenth century history; that his consolidation of the German States entitles him to be regarded as one of the makers of modern Germany; and that his influence in building up a national spirit in Italy was considerable. In short he secured the main fruits of the Revolution to France and helped to communicate them to Europe. The spectacular and dramatic elements of his astonishing career should not lead us to overrate his greatness and importance.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE PERIOD OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

- 1774 Louis XVI becomes King of France. Turgot, Finance Minister.
- 1776 Turgot replaced by Necker.
- 1781 Necker replaced by Calonne.
- 1787 Assembly of Notables.
- 1788 Parlement of Paris issues declaration of rights. King summons Estates-General.
- 1789 May, Estates-General meets. June, Estates-General becomes National Assembly. July, Fall of Bastille and riots in provinces. August, Abolition of abuses. October, King and National Assembly go to Paris.

- 1789-1791 National Assembly makes reforms.
- 1791-1792 Limited Monarchy, the Legislative Assembly.
- 1791 King's attempted flight. Declaration of Pillnitz.
- 1792 Declaration of war on Austria and Prussia.
- 1792-1795 First French Republic, the Convention.
- 1793 Committee of Public Safety Appointed. King executed.
- 1793-1794 Reign of Terror.
- 1795-1799 The Directory.
- 1796 Napoleon given Italian command.
- 1798 Egyptian expedition. Second Coalition against France formed.
- 1799 Napoleon's coup d'etat establishes consulate.
- 1799-1804 The Consulate. Period of Napoleon's internal reforms.
- 1802 Peace of Amiens.
- 1804-1814 The Empire.
- 1805 Third Coalition. French fleet destroyed at Trafalgar. Battle of Austerlitz.
- 1806 Battle of Jena. End of Holy Roman Empire. Confederation of the Rhine formed.
- 1807 Treaty of Tilsit. War of decrees between England and Napoleon. Invasion of Portugal.
- 1808 Joseph Bonaparte made King of Spain. Reforms in Prussia.
- 1812 Russian Campaign.
- 1813. Final Coalition. Battle of Leipzig.
- 1814 Napoleon abdicates and retires to Elba.
- 1815 February to June, the "Hundred Days". Waterloo.

CHAPTER IV

THE PERIOD OF REACTION

THE French Revolution was a bourgeois revolution. It worked, however, a transformation in the ideas of the ruling classes as well as in those of the bourgeoisie. We must remember that the rulers of Europe had fought Napoleon not because he was a tyrant but because he was a revolutionary, or at least because his armies were spreading revolutionary ideas which the ruling classes thoroughly feared and hated. Since Voltaire and the other philosophers had attacked the church and the revolutionists had confiscated church property, since the philosophers had attacked the absolute powers of the king and the revolutionists had cut off the king's head, the ruling classes in church and state traced all their woes to the philosophers. No more were the philosophers to be patronized and encouraged as they had been by the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century; rather all intellectual effort was to be looked upon with suspicion and brought under state control. Since Louis XVI had shown a disposition to yield to the demands of the revolutionaries and had ended by losing his life, the ruling classes were resolved to yield in no slightest detail lest it be an opening for greater changes. As Fueter, the Swiss historian says, "No event in European history ever caused such a change in the political thought of the ruling classes as did the French Revolution. . . . It was the first time that conscious conservatism became a ruling dogma."

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

That the overthrow of Napoleon was a victory for conservatism was clearly shown by the Congress of Vienna, the

assemblage of dignitaries which met in September, 1814, to straighten out the tangle into which Napoleon had thrown Europe. Six monarchs, a host of princes, dukes, counts and lesser nobles and the ablest chancellors and ministers were there to represent the conservative ideas of the ruling classes; there was no one to represent progressive ones. The single possible exception, among the leaders at least, was Czar Alexander I of Russia. Alexander was genuinely religious, had an honest hatred of war and a sincere desire to help his subjects; but he had little executive ability to carry out his plans and was easily discouraged.

The leader of the reactionary forces at Vienna was Prince Metternich of Austria. Born of a wealthy noble family, well educated, with a thorough knowledge of European affairs gained by service as Austrian ambassador in several European capitals, Metternich, in 1809, had become chief minister and practical ruler of Austria, a position which he held until 1848. Handsome, able, polished, egotistical and entirely unscrupulous, he was, by nature and training, a conservative through and through. His hatred for democracy was unlimited and he devoted his life to fighting it. He dominated the Congress of Vienna and the affairs of Europe for the next fifteen years so thoroughly that this period is often called the Age of Metternich.

England, Prussia, Russia, and Austria, having been the strongest nations in the alliance against Napoleon, naturally expected to divide the spoils among themselves. As each wanted the lion's share, however, agreement was difficult. Talleyrand, the crafty minister of Louis XVI, took advantage of this discord and by playing one nation against the other prevented France from being made the scape-goat. Talleyrand through many vicissitudes had always managed to attach himself to the party in power and work for his own advantage. As a bishop he had advocated the seizure of church property during the revolution, as Napoleon's foreign secretary he had plotted against him and become minister to Louis XVI at his restoration. He found full scope for his powers of intrigue at Vienna.

He put forward the principle of legitimacy, the restoration of the legitimate rulers, and Metternich, seeing in it a means of accomplishing his reactionary purposes, welcomed it. It became the guiding principle of the Congress, only in so far, however, as it suited the great powers; when some minor prince wished to be restored to his domains the principle of "compensations" for the great powers for their losses superseded legitimacy.

With legitimacy and compensation as its avowed principles and national selfishness and fear of revolution as its underlying motives, the main settlements of the Congress of Vienna were as follows: France was reduced to approximately her boundaries of 1789 and compelled to restore many of the works of art which Napoleon had carried off, to pay an indemnity of 700,000,000 francs and to submit for five years to an occupation of her chief fortresses by allied troops. Austria was given back her Polish provinces, the Tyrol and Dalmatia, and in addition the rich Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. Members of the Hapsburg family were placed on the thrones of the central Italian states,—Parma, Modena, Tuscany and Lucca. Austria lost the Netherlands (Belgium) which were given to Holland to make up the United Kingdom of the Netherlands under the house of Orange. Prussia was given back her Polish provinces, and, in addition, two-fifths of Saxony, valuable territory on the Rhine and Swedish Pomerania on the Baltic. Russia was allowed to retain Finland and Bessarabia and also received the largest part of what had formerly been Poland; the Czar, however, agreeing to govern Poland as a separate kingdom with a constitution. In the course of the wars against Napoleon England had seized islands and territories of France and her allies all over the globe, including Malta in the Mediterranean, Heligoland in the North Sea, Mauritius in the southern Pacific, Trinidad and part of Honduras in the Caribbean and the important Dutch colonies of Ceylon, South Africa and part of Guiana. She kept them all. Sweden as compensation for the loss of Finland and Pomerania received Norway from Denmark. The Bourbon kings of the

Two Sicilies and of Spain were restored as was the King of Piedmont who was given the Republic of Genoa. The Papal States were restored to the Pope. Switzerland was given its former boundaries and its neutrality guaranteed.

Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine was, of course, abolished, but the Holy Roman Empire was not restored, nor were the more than two hundred little states that he had consolidated. The wishes of Prussia, Austria and the other states that had benefited by the consolidation outweighed the demands of the petty rulers that the principle of legitimacy be applied to them. The German Confederation of thirty-eight states, including Austria but not her non-German possessions, was created. The states of the Confederation were bound not to enter into any alliance with a foreign power against the Confederation or any member of it. It had a diet made up of representatives of the rulers presided over by Austria, but there was no executive head.

Weak as this Confederation was, it was a step in German unification and constituted much more of a bond among the German states than existed among the states of Italy. Italy with the Pope, the King of the Two Sicilies and the King of Piedmont restored, with Hapsburg rulers in the small states and Venetia and Lombardy given outright to Austria, remained a geographic expression with Austrian influence dominant.

The great mistake of the Congress of Vienna was that it completely ignored the principle of nationalism as applied to small states. When they arbitrarily assigned peoples to rulers without consulting the peoples, as when they gave Belgium to Holland, Norway to Sweden, Poles to Russia, Austria and Prussia, Italians to Austria, and prevented any real national union in Italy and Germany, they were sowing the seeds of future revolutions and wars. Metternich and his reactionary fellow diplomats undoubtedly thought that by suppressing liberalism and scheming to get all that they could for their own countries, they were serving their countries well. The short time that many of these settlements lasted, in spite of the elaborate means adopted to maintain the status quo, shows

that selfishness, however patriotic it may seem, is not a sound basis for a peace settlement.

EUROPE IN 1815

The ruling classes whose representatives controlled the Congress of Vienna believed that they had permanently stamped out the revolutionary ideas which they feared and hated above all else. A survey of political conditions in Europe in the years immediately following the Congress would seem to show that they had. Everywhere reaction was in the saddle. It is true that the economic changes in France and other territories controlled by Napoleon were more or less permanent. The peasants continued to own their small farms, serfdom and the feudal rights of the landlords were not restored nor were the old restrictions on trade. But serfdom and a privileged nobility and clergy still existed throughout Russia, in most of the Austrian dominions and in large parts of the Germanies. In most of the Italian states and in Spain the landlords had won back many of their rights with the restoration. Politically, the restoration of the monarchs meant the restoration of absolutism. With the exception of England, France, and a few small states, this was true everywhere in Europe. Everywhere the king's will was law; he appointed ministers, levied taxes and issued decrees untroubled by parliaments.

England

The French philosophers had held up England as a model country; her parliament and her liberal laws made her apparently the most advanced nation in Europe. England had had a parliament for centuries and since 1689 it had been supreme, but England, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was far from being democratic because Parliament no longer represented the people of the country. This was due to the limited suffrage, the unequal distribution of members of Parliament throughout the country, the method of voting

and the general political corruption that prevailed. A somewhat detailed description of conditions in England will help us to understand how this nominally liberal country was in reality a stronghold of conservatism.

There were two sorts of parliamentary districts, the county districts made up of farming areas, small towns and villages, and the borough or city districts. In the county districts only those who owned land which produced an annual income of forty shillings might vote. We must remember that the enclosures had practically wiped out the small land holders so that this regulation meant that the right to vote was limited practically to the large landlords who owned most of the land of England. Moreover, since there was no requirement that a voter must reside in the district in which he voted, a landlord might vote in every district in which he owned a sufficient amount of land. There was no uniform rule as to who might vote for members of Parliament in the boroughs. In a few all taxpayers had the right to vote; in others the "freemen," that is those who were descended from or chosen to succeed those named in the original charter of the borough, alone had the privilege. In the majority of the boroughs the members of Parliament were chosen by the mayor and council who were usually a self-perpetuating body. It is estimated that out of a total of 6,000,000 adult males in the United Kingdom in 1830 less than half a million had the right to vote.

Besides the property qualifications for voters and higher ones for office holders, there was religious restrictions on office holding. The Toleration Act of 1689 allowed dissenters to worship as they pleased and the harsh laws against Catholics still on the statute books were not enforced, but the Corporation Act barred all but Anglicans from holding local office and the Test Act kept Catholics from sitting in Parliament. Parliament frequently by a special indemnity allowed dissenters to hold local office.

Another factor that made Parliament unrepresentative was the distribution of its members over the country. As we have

seen, the House of Commons grew up gradually, the king summoning representatives from such county districts and boroughs as he saw fit. The sending of members to Parliament finally came to be considered a right, and those districts which originally sent them still did so. In any country population shifts from time to time. In the United States after each census, taken every ten years, there is a reapportionment which keeps the districts approximately equal in population, but there was no such provision in England. The last districts had been added in the time of Charles II and in the 150 years that had since elapsed there had been great growth and most unusual shifts in population due to the industrial revolution. Many of the boroughs which had at one time been flourishing towns had lost population until there were several with populations less than fifty and some with no population at all, which still continued to send representatives to Parliament. (It was possible for a district with no population to send representatives to Parliament since there was no precedent in England as there is in the United States that a representative should reside in the district which he represented. The man who owned land in a depopulated district could, then, appoint a member of parliament from anywhere in England to represent that district.) These boroughs, since they had "rotted," were called rotten boroughs. They were usually controlled by a landlord who sold the seat in Parliament to the highest bidder. At the same time great manufacturing cities such as Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester, which had grown up with the industrial revolution, had no representatives in Parliament,—except that they were each a part of some county district.

There was no provision for secrecy in voting. Elections were held in the open air with the sheriff presiding and the voters expressing their preference by shouting or raising their hands. A roll call might be demanded, in which case each voter signed his name in the poll book where everyone might see for whom he had voted. This system made the control of elections by powerful local lords easy, since few would dare to vote contrary to the will of one who might ruin them economically.

It also made the buying of votes easy, a practice which was common throughout England. Some districts had fixed prices for votes; sometimes a candidate would advertise the price he was willing to pay. This vote buying was but one phase of the corruption which existed everywhere in political life to such an extent as to arouse little moral indignation or cause but little comment.

These evils,—restricted suffrage, unfair representation, open voting and corruption—gave the landlords, a small fraction of the population, almost complete control of England. The House of Lords was made up of landlords, and many lords, through their control of rotten boroughs or county districts, controlled from one to ten seats in the Commons. It was claimed that 154 men, many of them lords, controlled a majority of the Commons. The middle class merchants had some representation from the towns, but workingmen, neither in city or country, had any voice whatsoever in the government.

Progressive Englishmen had realized for years the need for reform, and agitation was begun even before the French Revolution. The excesses of the radicals in France, however, scared many of the reformers and gave the conservatives an excuse for opposing the changes on the ground that they were steps toward revolution,—just as, for example, in the United States for the past few years every reform, no matter how moderate, has been called a step toward Bolshevism. Another much used argument against reform was that England, the most progressive country in Europe, did not need it. Reform was delayed for more than a generation in spite of the fact that social and economic conditions were bad and rapidly becoming worse.

Industry, already disorganized by the introduction of new machinery, was further upset by the attempt of thousands of soldiers, discharged after the defeat of Napoleon, to find employment. Wages were low, unemployment common. In spite of this the cost of living was kept high by the Corn Laws, protective tariffs on imported grain, which the landlords in

Parliament refused to repeal since they were primarily for their own benefit. Factories were unsanitary, dangerous machinery unguarded, hours of labor long, woman and child labor common and unregulated. A harsh criminal law attempted to protect property by making even petty thievery one of two hundred and fifty capital offenses. Criminals who escaped death were committed to prisons maintained by private persons where most unsanitary conditions and brutal treatment prevailed.

Labor unions or other organizations of workers for the purpose of improving their conditions were prohibited. A tax on paper and a special tax on newspapers and advertisements made the average price of a newspaper fourteen cents, a price prohibitive for workers. When a few radical leaders attempted to organize mass meetings of workers, these meetings were prohibited by law. In an attempt to break up a meeting in Manchester in 1819, the police fired upon the crowd, killing and wounding a large number. This Peterloo massacre, as it was called, was followed by the passage of the famous "six acts" still more effectively limiting the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage.

In 1815 and for several years after, the Tory party, the party of the landlords, seemed firmly intrenched and well able to maintain the status quo. Their power, however, was to be short-lived. Although factory owners and factory workers disagreed about wages and other conditions of employment, they joined together in demanding social and political reforms, and so powerful were they becoming that the landlords could not long hold out against them.

France

The restored Bourbon government in France, although it retained few of the radical ideas of 1795, was still relatively liberal. Napoleon's legal system, the Concordat with the Pope, and the Bank of France were retained. The charter issued by Louis XVIII provided for a two house legislature, the upper

house appointed by the king, the lower house elected by men who paid a direct tax of 1,000 francs (later lowered to 500). The king had the power to initiate all laws but no law could be made without the consent of parliament. The King appointed ministers responsible to himself. Freedom of religion, speech and press were guaranteed. Louis XVIII did not grant this charter because he believed in it, but because he realized that times had changed. The bourgeoisie were strong and becoming stronger; they would have bitterly opposed any complete return to the old regime. Louis wanted to rule and was willing to sacrifice principle to expediency.

Although the majority of the people of France supported Louis in his moderate policy, there was a party, the Ultra-Royalists, which was constantly planning a thorough return to the old regime. The murder of the King's nephew by a fanatical liberal put them in power in the legislature in 1820. They immediately abolished many of the constitutional guarantees, established a strict censorship of the press, gave complete control of education to the Catholic clergy and modified the electoral law by giving double suffrage to those who paid direct taxes of 1,000 francs annually. Louis XVIII made some attempt to restrain the Ultras but upon his death in 1824 his brother, the Count of Artois, leader of the Ultras, became king as Charles X. Under him steps were immediately taken to restore to the nobility and clergy their former privileges. Heavy penalties for sacrilege and blasphemy were enacted, one law providing the death penalty for breaking into a church. An indemnity of 1,000,000,000 francs was granted to nobles whose estates were confiscated during the revolution. Reaction in France seemed complete.

Central Europe

Although up to 1830 reactionaries were in power in both England and France, there were touches of liberalism in both countries and in both there were groups of liberals who never gave up the struggle for their ideals. In the rest of Europe

reaction ruled almost without protest. Austria and her dominions, which included Hungary, Bohemia, parts of Poland and Italy, was indeed a land of the old regime. The king ruled through ministers responsible to himself alone without constitution or parliament. The Catholic clergy was exempt from taxes and military service and had a practical monopoly of education. The nobles were exempt from certain taxes, had a monopoly of all the lucrative offices both civil and military, and collected taxes and various feudal dues from the peasants. This was a country after Metternich's own heart, and in order that it might not be changed he established an elaborate scheme to prevent the introduction of new ideas. No newspaper, pamphlet or book might be published, sold or brought into the country without the approval of a government official. No public meeting might be held without the approval of the government or without officials being present to see what was done. The curriculum of all schools and universities was rigidly prescribed and supervised. No person might enter or leave the country without official approval. In order to enforce these regulations Metternich established an elaborate system of spies and secret police who went everywhere and reported what was going on.

Metternich was not content with keeping Austria immune from new ideas but was determined to establish his "system" all over Europe. He played on the fears of the ruling classes, magnifying unimportant events into great crises and picturing the slightest reform as a step toward revolution. One of the first rulers to come under his influence was the well-meaning but weak-willed Czar Alexander of Russia. As we have noted, Alexander's influence was cast on the side of liberalism at the Congress of Vienna and although he had little effect on the settlements made there, he tried sincerely for a time to introduce progressive ideas in the government of his vast domains. He confirmed the independent constitution of Finland, gave Poland a liberal constitution, abolished corporal punishment for the upper classes in Russia, and established a few civil liberties. He appointed liberal ministers and was

planning the granting of a constitution and the abolition of serfdom. A few radicals in Russia, however, made extreme demands, plots for revolution were discovered; Kotzebue, a Russian agent was murdered by a German radical. The Czar, easily discouraged, was led by Metternich to believe that his mild measures of reform were responsible for these troubles and soon forswore all liberalism and abolished all plans for reform. Upon his death in 1825 he was succeeded by his brother Nicholas who needed none of Metternich's persuasion to keep Russia one of the most reactionary governments in the world.

Since Austria was the most powerful state in the German Confederation, Metternich had great influence in the diet which was made up of the representatives of the various rulers. One article of the constitution of the Confederation provided that "a representative form of government shall be adopted in the federative states," but except for a few of the southern states which had come under French influence, Metternich was easily able to persuade the rulers to ignore this provision. The liberal spirit in the German states was kept alive by various student organizations. In October, 1817, students held a celebration at Wittenberg, commemorating the 300th anniversary of the beginning of Luther's revolt. Some inflammatory speeches were made and symbols of the old regime were burned. Metternich magnified this display of youthful spirits into a revolution. Two years later when Kotzebue, a Russian spy, was murdered by a German student he declared that the time for strong action had come and persuaded the diet to pass a set of resolutions establishing a censorship of all teaching, newspapers, books and pamphlets and suppressing the strongest of the student organizations. These resolutions, known as the "Carlsbad Resolutions" established Metternich's system throughout the Germanies.

The Holy and Quadruple Alliances

Outside of central Europe Metternich was aided in his reactionary policy by an alliance which was made at the time of

the Congress of Vienna. There were two alliances made at this time. One, the Holy Alliance between Russia, Prussia and Austria, later joined by practically all the states of Europe, was the outgrowth of the religious enthusiasm of Czar Alexander. In the treaty creating it the rulers promised to be "united in the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity" and "both in the administration of their respective states, and in their political relations with every other government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that Holy Religion, namely, the precepts of Justice, Christian Charity and Peace." None of the rulers took the alliance seriously, signing it to humor the Czar. It never accomplished anything nor, so far as can be seen, had any effect on the policies of any of the rulers who signed it. It is often confused, however, with another alliance made at the same time,—the Quadruple Alliance.

The Quadruple Alliance was formed under the leadership of Metternich between Russia, Prussia, Austria and England (later France was admitted) "for the safety of their governments and for the general peace of Europe" and to prevent the possibility that "Revolutionary Principles might again convulse France and endanger the peace of other countries." Since the signatory powers were the ones which had chiefly benefited by the Vienna settlement, they naturally wished to maintain it and this was the main purpose of the Alliance. Since the main threat against the settlements was revolution, the main function of the Alliance was to prevent revolutions or suppress them once they had broken out. Under Metternich's leadership this Quadruple Alliance, often called the Holy Alliance, played a large part in suppressing liberal movements during the next fifteen years.

The first country to disturb the Vienna settlement was Spain. The rule of Napoleon's brother Joseph in Spain had never been popular and in 1812 a group of middle class liberals set up a provisional government and adopted a liberal constitution. The Bourbon king Ferdinand VII whom the allies restored to the throne was a thorough-going reactionary. He had all of Metternich's hatred for liberalism with none of his

ability or tact. Accordingly, with the support of the nobility and clergy, he abolished the constitution and reestablished the old regime,—absolute monarchy, special privileges for nobility and clergy, censorship and the Inquisition. Although he tried to stamp out the liberal movement by execution, exile and imprisonment, he was not entirely successful, and when the disorganized state of the finances made the army's pay irregular, the soldiers were ready to join in a revolt. Uprisings occurred in different parts of Spain early in 1820 and Ferdinand at once promised to reinstate and support the constitutions of 1812. Ferdinand was not sincere in his promises and immediately began plotting to overthrow the constitution and appealing to the reactionary great powers for help. The privileged classes never accepted the new regime so that a chronic state of civil war prevailed in Spain.

The Quadruple Alliance was much concerned with the Spanish revolution, considering steps to be taken at the Congress of Troppau, 1820, and the Congress of Laibach, 1821. Troubles in Italy, however, prevented any action until, at the Congress of Verona, 1822, France offered to send an army into Spain. The reactionary party then in control in France saw in this an opportunity to do a favor for a Bourbon relative of the French King and at the same time reestablish France in the good graces of the great powers. Her offer was enthusiastically accepted, England alone objecting, and after France, Russia, Austria and Prussia had addressed notes to the Spanish government demanding the abolition of the constitution, a French army marched into Spain early in 1823. The mass of the Spanish peasantry, who were devoted Catholics, had never been really won over to the anti-clerical liberal government so that the French army had little opposition. The liberal government was overthrown, the constitution abolished, and after executing hundreds of liberals and exiling and imprisoning many others, Ferdinand ruled as an absolute monarch until his death in 1833.

Even before the French army invaded Spain a precedent for intervention had been established by the Austrians in Italy.

Metternich and his colleagues at Vienna thought they had made Italy safe for reaction by establishing relatives of the Austrian Emperor on the thrones of Parma, Modena, Tuscany and Lucca, and equally conservative monarchs in Naples and Sardinia. Italy, however, through the long occupation by Napoleonic troops and rule of Napoleon's puppet princes, had come more under revolutionary influences than any other country of Europe outside of France itself. The economic features of the old regime such as primogeniture and exemption of nobles from taxation had never been restored, the restoration consisting mainly in a restoration of power to the church and persecution of all liberal opinion. Although the middle class in Italy was weak, trade being small and factory manufacture hardly begun, there was an active propaganda being carried on against the government. The leaders in this propaganda were mainly former officers and officials in Napoleonic armies and governments who had been displaced through the discrimination in favor of nobles practiced by the restored governments. Since they had no way of carrying on legal opposition to the government they formed secret societies and preached and planned revolution. The strongest of these societies was the *Carbonari*, named from the charcoal burners of Calabria. This society grew until it had branches all over Italy and was a prime factor in keeping the revolutionary spirit alive.

When the news of the Spanish revolution of 1820 came to the kingdom of Naples, the worst governed of all the Italian states, a revolution broke out and the reactionary King Ferdinand, deserted by his army, was compelled to take an oath to support a constitution identical with the Spanish constitution just proclaimed. The Congress of the powers meeting at Troppau discussed the situation and in spite of some opposition from England, Austria, Prussia and Russia issued a proclamation asserting the right of intervention against a nation guilty of making illegal reforms. At the request of the Congress, meeting at Laibach early in 1821, Ferdinand appeared before it, and repudiating his oath to support the constitution

asked for intervention to restore himself to power. An Austrian army was immediately dispatched which easily put down the revolt and Ferdinand was restored to power with the usual resultant persecution of all suspected of holding liberal ideas.

While the Austrian forces were putting down the revolt in Naples a revolution broke out in Piedmont. The revolutionists had visions not only of overthrowing an arbitrary government but of driving out Austrian influence and uniting all Italy under the house of Savoy, the only ruling house in all Italy which was of pure Italian descent. Accordingly they adopted the Italian colors—green, white and red—and proclaimed the restoration of an Italian kingdom. King Victor Emmanuel abdicated in favor of his brother Charles Felix and appointed as regent Charles Albert who was next in line of succession. Charles Albert was a liberal and proclaimed the Spanish constitution of 1820 but Charles Felix called on Austria for help and Austrian troops put down the rebellion and established Charles Felix on the throne. Hopes of a liberal government or of freedom from Austrian control were thus crushed out for nearly another generation in Italy.

The conservative alliance seemed to be holding together admirably. Metternich, by dangling before the eyes of the rulers the spectre of revolution, seemed to have all Europe committed to maintaining his system. As time went on, however, and a new generation which had not actually lived through the Reign of Terror came into power, other forces, both economic and nationalistic, began to weaken the zeal of certain nations for subordinating their entire policy to the idea of a common fight against the spirit of revolution. England was the first nation to weaken in her allegiance to the conservative alliance. We have already noted that England was only luke-warm to the idea of intervention in Spain and Italy. The reason for this was not any innate liberalism of the English people, for at this time reaction was in complete control of England's internal policy. Rather it was the fact that the interest of England's merchants, a class whose power was

constantly growing, was in direct conflict with the policy of suppression of all revolution. This first became evident when the Quadruple Alliance began to consider the restoration to Spain of her revolted colonies in America. A brief consideration of the situation in the Spanish colonies will make this matter clear.

At the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars Spain still had a vast empire consisting of Mexico, Central America, all of South America except Brazil, Cuba, Porto Rico and other small islands in the West Indies. Spain learned nothing from the American Revolution but continued to deny her colonies any self-government and to enforce the old mercantilist policy of allowing the colonies to trade only with the mother country. She had not been able to enforce this policy strictly for generations, an illegal trade being carried on between the colonies and other countries, particularly England; but she still drew a rich revenue from them.

During the period when Ferdinand VII was displaced by Joseph Bonaparte and England controlled the seas the colonies, although most of them professed their loyalty to Ferdinand and refused to recognize Joseph, traded more and more with other countries, particularly with England and the United States. When the Congress of Vienna restored Ferdinand, he, with characteristic Bourbon short-sightedness, attempted to restore the old colonial system, forbidding all trade except with Spain herself. The colonies revolted, the movement spreading through South America into Central America and Mexico, Mexico declaring her independence in 1821.

The United States was deeply interested in the revolutions in the Spanish colonies for economic, sentimental, and nationalistic reasons. The merchants had built up a small but profitable trade with the colonies during the Napoleonic and revolutionary periods and saw an opportunity to expand it indefinitely if the colonies remained independent. Popular sentiment was with the revolutionists for the people remembered that they themselves had but recently won their independence from a European power. Above all was the feeling

of both the government and the people that the United States would be more secure if it had as neighbors to the south independent republics rather than colonies of an imperialistic and reactionary great power. This feeling was strengthened when the news came of the activity of the Quadruple Alliance in putting down revolution in Europe. The fear was logical that the next step of the conservative alliance would be to attempt to restore the revolted colonies to Spain, a fear which was confirmed by France's invitations to Prussia, Russia and Austria, in 1823, to confer on the relation of Spain and her revolted colonies.

The United States recognized the independence of Mexico, Colombia, Chili and Argentina in 1822. The attitude of the Quadruple Alliance made it evident that some further action was necessary. Having refused an offer from England to join the United States in a joint declaration against the reconquest of the colonies by Spain and against their transfer to any other power, as being likely to involve the United States in European affairs and identify her with British interests, President Monroe, in his regular message to Congress, December 2, 1823, issued what has since become famous as the Monroe Doctrine. In brief this doctrine stated that the United States had not and would not intervene in purely European affairs, nor between a European country and her existing colonies in the western hemisphere; but where colonies had declared and maintained their independence the United States would view any attempt to interfere with them as an unfriendly act.

The "Monroe Doctrine" was not an entirely new policy for the United States. It was but the logical corollary of the policy of non-interference in European affairs announced by Washington and reiterated by Jefferson. This was the first time, however, that it had received so definite a statement. Although not officially recognized by European powers it has prevented the extension of their system to the western continent and, largely modified by time and circumstances, is still the cardinal feature of American foreign policy.

The real reason for the success of the Monroe Doctrine, as

well as for that of the revolutions in Spanish America, was the attitude of England. England was mistress of the seas and without the help of her navy any attempt to conquer the revolting colonies was foredoomed to failure. Indeed had England been guided by self interest alone she would have helped the revolt from the beginning, since it was her merchants who would have benefited primarily by the destruction of the Spanish monopoly. But the memory of the Reign of Terror was still so strong in the minds of her Tory rulers that the conservative fear of revolution prevailed for a time over the interests of the middle class. Officially, therefore, she remained neutral, although many English adventurers aided the revolutionary armies and navies, and English merchants kept them supplied with arms. In 1822, George Canning, a representative of the younger and more liberal group of Conservatives who were coming into power, became Foreign Secretary. To him the furthering of England's economic interests was much more important than maintaining the conservative alliance. Accordingly, at the congress of Verona in 1822, he protested against intervention in Spain and Italy declaring that England insisted upon "the right of nations to set up for themselves whatever form of government they thought best." He informed France in October, 1823, of England's provisional recognition of the Latin-American states and encouraged the United States to issue the Monroe Doctrine in December of the same year. In 1825 England formally recognized the more important states and the break with the Quadruple Alliance was complete. The real importance of England's defection lay in the fact that thereby the Conservative Alliance was deprived of the only navy worthy of the name at that time in existence.

Another serious blow to Metternich's system was the success of the Greeks in gaining their independence. Greece, long misgoverned by Turkey, revolted in 1821. The Greeks counted upon the assistance of Russia since the two countries had the same religion and it had long been the main aim of Russian policy to substitute her own for Turkish domination in the Balkans. Metternich was able, however, to persuade Alex-

ander to make the national interests of his country secondary to the maintenance of a united front against revolution and the first outbreak was easily put down. The Greeks thoroughly stirred up by a patriotic secret society, the *Hetairia Philike*, refused to give in and a long indecisive struggle resulted in which the Greeks by virtue of their stronger navy drove the Turks from the islands while the Turks retaliated by wholesale massacres on land. The cruelty of the Turks strengthened the sympathy for Greece already strong because of her ancient glories. Volunteers came from practically every country in Europe to aid the Greek cause. Even Russia felt the influence of the popular sympathy for Greece. Nicholas, who succeeded Alexander on the throne of Russia in 1825, was even more reactionary, but he was of a younger generation and had not the panicky fear of revolution which characterized Alexander. He put the interests of Russia before loyalty to Metternich and intervened on behalf of the Greeks in 1826. England, who had already under the leadership of Canning recognized the belligerency of the Greeks, was unwilling to see Russia gain any advantage from an independent Greece, and brought about an alliance in 1827 by which England, France and Russia pledged themselves to assure Greek independence. With the help of an English fleet and a French and a Russian army the Greeks defeated the forces of the Sultan and forced him to recognize Greek independence in 1829. Thus again had national interests proven themselves stronger than international conservative interests. Again revolution had triumphed over reaction and this time with the aid of reactionary Russia herself.

The diplomats at the Congress of Vienna believed that by their settlement they had stamped out revolutionary ideas. Under the leadership of Metternich they formed an alliance to maintain this settlement. Metternich built up in Austria a thoroughly reactionary state and, by his personal influence over the Czar and his power in the German diet, extended his system to Russia and the Germanies. The Quadruple Alliance put down revolutions in Spain and Italy and was considering

restoring Spain's revolted colonies. The first breach in the conservative alliance was when England, led by the interests of her merchants, withdrew. Another blow against it was struck by Greece's winning her independence. Metternich's conservative alliance was to be still further shaken in 1830 and finally completely overthrown in 1848 by a revival of those revolutionay ideas which the Congress of Vienna thought it had crushed forever.

CHAPTER V

THE AMERICAS BECOME FACTORS IN WORLD HISTORY

THE UNITED STATES BECOMES A NATION

THE achievement of independence by the British colonies in North America and their subsequent successful experiment with a type of government that broke completely with European traditions deserves to rank as one of the outstanding events of modern history. When the American Revolution began in a struggle for autonomy, the inhabitants of the several colonies were far from being the united and harmonious group, so often pictured, devoted to a common purpose and inspired with lofty ideals. The outcome of the war—independence and ownership of a vast domain stretching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi—found the colonists bewildered, jealous, discordant and possessed of a government wholly inadequate for the exigencies of the situation.

The Critical Period

As thirteen independent states cooperating for the purpose of war through the Second Continental Congress they attempted to frame a form of government that would loosely associate them for common purposes in times of peace. The Articles of Confederation were drawn up when the colonists were still struggling against Great Britain, and were naturally hesitant about creating too strong a central government that might become as great a tyrant as George III. The Articles of Confederation created, therefore, a weak and inefficient central government. They provided for a Congress of delegates of from two to seven members from each state; the

delegates were paid by the states, and were virtually ambassadors from their respective commonwealths. Each state had one vote and the consent of all the states was necessary for a revision of the Articles. There was no executive, but Congress had power to choose a committee of thirteen to act as an executive committee. Congress was not given control over commerce, finance or the military—essential earmarks of sovereign power. It could indeed spend money and order the creation of an army, but it had to await the pleasure of the several states before it could pay its bills or mobilize its soldiers. No system of national courts was set up to compel obedience to its decrees or safeguard the rights of citizens.

Needless to say, such a government was impotent,—neither able to command obedience at home, nor respect abroad. Finances were in a deplorable condition. Neither capital nor interest could be paid on the huge war debt. Notes issued by Congress evoked the popular expression “not worth a continental.” Many of the states were issuing paper money and Congress was powerless to stem the tide. Some of the states passed laws making it difficult for creditors to collect their debts, or even suspended the collection of debts entirely for a period by the so called stay laws. When Massachusetts attempted to set its own house in order, the farmers, burdened with debt, organized open defiance, and under the leadership of Daniel Shays demanded the issuance of paper money and the lowering of taxes. The rebellion was put down but it frightened the propertied classes throughout the country.

Foreign commerce was ruined. England had been the best customer, and now the thirteen nations found English and West Indian ports closed to their trade. Congress was powerless to retaliate or to conclude favorable commercial treaties. Adams, ambassador to England, and Jefferson, ambassador to France, were treated with scant courtesy. Jefferson wrote home “We are the lowest of the whole diplomatic tribe.” On the ground that the colonies had not carried out their treaty obligations concerning the settlement of debts to British merchants, England refused to evacuate fur-trading posts within

the boundaries of the United States. She encouraged the Indians to resist the advance of American fur traders and thus threatened to ruin the fur-trade then valued at a million and a half dollars annually. Spain threatened to close the Mississippi to the settlers who were rapidly pouring into the territory south of the Ohio, and imitated the English by encouraging the Creek and Seminole Indians to harass the pioneers. Domestic commerce was hampered by the jealousies of the states and the restrictive tariff barriers that they raised against one another, while chaotic finances rendered exchange well nigh impossible. Congress made futile attempts to remedy the situation by asking for more power, but it had fallen into utter disrepute. The ablest men preferred to serve their states and it ultimately became difficult for congress to gather a quorum to discuss and pass what amounted to little more than pious supplications and resolutions.

There is, however, one accomplishment of the Confederation which deserves special mention. When the question of ratifying the Articles was before the states, Maryland objected on the ground that several states had claims to vast stretches of territory beyond the Alleghenies. She contended that this vast domain should be surrendered to the United States. One by one, following the lead of Virginia, the states did so and thus fortunately removed what might have been a source of unending discord. The Congress was confronted, then, with the task of organizing a government for this imperial domain. It did so by the famous Northwest Ordinance of 1787 which provided for the exclusion of slavery, the development of education, religious freedom, and the protection of liberty and property. But most important was the provision that when the territory reached a certain population it was to be divided into states and admitted into the union with the same rights and privileges as the original thirteen. This virtually established a new principle in colonial administration and this policy the United States pursued in all subsequent annexations of territory, till it acquired lands overseas.

If we pause to analyze the defects and weaknesses of the

Articles of Confederation it is not difficult to determine which classes in the population would seriously advocate their revision in favor of a strongly centralized government. In general it was the commercial shipping and propertied classes. Holders of western lands, owners of public securities, lenders of money found their investments depreciating. The debtor classes, the small farmers, mechanics and western pioneers, were, in some states, securing control of the state governments, enunciating radical doctrines and enacting laws which alarmed the propertied classes and tended to unite them in a movement for stronger government.

Making the Constitution

After several futile attempts to revise the Articles so as to give Congress power over trade, a convention met in May, 1787, at Philadelphia for this purpose and "to devise such other provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." With the exception of Rhode Island all the states were represented. The result of their labors was "neither a work of divine origin, nor 'the greatest work that was ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man,' but a practical workable document, planned to meet certain needs and modified to suit the exigencies of the situation." In the language of John Adams, "The Federal Convention was the work of the commercial people in the seaport towns, of the slave-owning states, of the Revolutionary army, and the property holders everywhere."

The struggle that went on in the Constitutional Convention and still later in the various states on the question of ratification was a struggle between the two economic groups described above. In its legal and political aspects it is sometimes referred to as a struggle between large and small states, or between advocates of a strong national government and advocates of strong state governments. The Constitution was a workable compromise between these conflicting interests.

Neatly balancing the jurisdiction of the states and the nation, it conferred upon the central government certain specific powers which the old Congress of the Confederation lacked, while it gave to the individual states all those powers which it did not grant to the central government. However, the grant of powers to the federal government contained an elastic or implied power clause—"to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers"—under which the central government has steadily increased its power at the expense of the states. The legislative system devised was also a compromise for it provided for one body (the Senate) in which the States would have equal representation, and another (the House of Representatives) in which the representation was to be according to population.

The conservative groups secured the ends for which they had been striving. Congress was given full power to lay and collect taxes, control over foreign and interstate commerce, the right to raise and support military and naval forces, establish a national system of courts, negotiate treaties with foreign countries, and regulate the currency. The states were forbidden to issue paper currency, make anything but gold and silver legal tender, or impair the obligations of contracts. Furthermore the new government assumed the debts of the government of the Confederation.

Anticipating difficulty in securing ratification of the new document, the delegates at Philadelphia executed a *coup d'état* by providing that the Constitution would become effective when special conventions in nine of the states should ratify it, despite the fact that the Articles of Confederation required unanimous consent for revision. The struggle for ratification was bitter and close,—business, commercial, and financial centers advocating its adoption, while the rural sections and the debtor classes opposed it. In selecting delegates to the state conventions, the laws excluded about one third of the adult male population. (New York alone allowed all the adult males to vote.) So many qualified voters abstained from

voting that it is generally estimated that not more than thirty percent of the adult males took part in the election of delegates. The Constitution therefore can scarcely be considered the result of an overwhelming popular demand. A change of a few votes in New York and Virginia would have blocked its adoption. In North Carolina ratification was refused by the Convention, and in Rhode Island no convention was summoned to consider it. These states, therefore, did not take part in the first elections and did not join the new government until it had been launched.

The Federalists in Power

In 1788, elections were held to fill the offices of the new government. Washington, unanimously chosen as President, took the oath of office in New York City on April 30, 1789. The population of the United States consisted of about 3,200,000 whites and 600,000 slaves. Philadelphia was the largest city with a population of about 42,000, while New York contained about 32,000. Scattered along the western frontier in the rich valleys of the Ohio and Cumberland, were about 100,000 hardy pioneers. The country was predominantly agricultural, the important industries were shipping and fishing, while manufacturing, such as it was, was chiefly confined to iron, leather, pottery and textiles. Socially and politically, the new country was far from democratic. There was a wide cleavage between the large planters and the small farmers, between the rich merchants and the artisans and mechanics. Religious and property qualifications excluded a large percentage of the free white population from the suffrage and limited the privilege of office holding to a few. The leaders of the new government were unquestionably aristocratic in their tendencies, some even advocating the establishment of a nobility.

Many of the framers and many advocates of the new government were elected to the first Congress. President Washington, in the exercise of his appointing power, surrounded

himself with friends of the new government. With few exceptions, judges, cabinet members and numerous other officials had been "Federalists," that is, supporters of the Constitution, and were, in a few years, to form the nucleus of one of the first political parties. A notable exception was Thomas Jefferson—destined to be the leader of the opposition—who had been in Europe during the framing of the constitution and the debates over its ratification. Next to Jefferson, the Secretary of State, the most prominent member of Washington's official family was undoubtedly the youthful but brilliant aristocrat, Alexander Hamilton, who, as Secretary of the Treasury, had the difficult task of restoring the public credit, both at home and abroad. Hamilton's financial measures occupied the center of the stage in Washington's first administration.

He boldly advocated not only the payment of the foreign debt in full, to which there was little objection, but also the domestic debt, which aroused a storm of criticism. He even went further and, largely because he was a thorough-going nationalist, advocated and finally succeeded in getting Congress to assume the debts contracted by the several States in the prosecution of the Revolutionary War. Shrewd speculators and clever politicians bought up the depreciated paper for almost nothing, and now, as holders of securities which the new government promised to pay in full, became staunch supporters of the Hamiltonian program. On the other hand, those who had parted with their once worthless paper, bitterly denounced him and his policies and later became the nucleus of an opposition party. To pay the interest on the National debt and to provide for the ordinary expenses of the government, Hamilton proposed a customs duty on imported articles and an excise tax. A tariff averaging ten percent was enacted. Hamilton sought to increase the tariff, hoping thereby to encourage American manufacturing and render America absolutely independent of Europe, but it was not until 1816 that the United States adopted a definitely protective tariff. Part of Hamilton's policy of internal taxation was a tax on distilled whiskey. Western farmers, who were in the habit of convert-

ing their corn into whiskey so that it might be transported more easily, rose in armed rebellion. The new government met this threat in a way impossible for the old Confederation; with an army of fifteen thousand militia, Hamilton gloried in the opportunity to prove that Congress could collect as well as impose taxes.

Topping Hamilton's financial program, was the establishment of a United States bank, chartered by Congress, and acting as the fiscal agent of the government. Although called a United States bank and although the government subscribed one-fifth of the capital, it was, none the less, a private banking corporation. Because of its favored position as depository of government funds, stockholders in other banks, chartered by the separate States, were fearful of its inroads into their business, and politicians claimed that strong moneyed interests were directing the affairs of government toward their own ends.

The debate over the bank precipitated the formation of political parties under the respective leadership of Hamilton and Jefferson. In the language of Hamilton—"all communities divide themselves into the few and the many; the few are the rich and well-born; the other the mass of the people. The people are turbulent and changing, they seldom judge or determine right. Give therefore to the first class, a distinct, permanent share in the government; they will check the boisterousness of the second." Hamilton's supporters were the security holders, the property owners, the bankers, merchants and shippers. Jefferson championed the cause of agriculture, the cause of the rich planters, but also of the small farmers and mechanics, the debtors and the pioneers across the Alleghenies. Politically, Hamilton's party, the Federalists, advocated a strong national government and supported his financial program. Jefferson and his followers, at first called Democratic-Republicans and later Republicans, favored a strengthening of the powers of the individual States at the expense of the national government. Jefferson contended that no warrant could be found for the bank in the Constitution

since the right to charter banks was not one of the expressed powers of the Federal government; Hamilton contended that the power to charter a bank was clearly implied in the elastic clause. Jefferson is commonly referred to as an advocate of strict construction, while Hamilton and his party are referred to as loose constructionists. But as we have indicated, the two groups divided fundamentally not on abstract principles of Constitutional interpretation but along broad economic lines. The Federalists wanted the bank because it was good for business and many of them profited by it. The Republicans opposed the bank because they believed it strengthened the financial interests at the expense of agriculture. The constitutional argument was a justification, not a real reason.

Foreign as well as domestic problems gave rise to party differences. The new government had just been launched when the French Revolution broke out. At first, it was hailed with enthusiasm in the new republic, but as excesses developed, the more conservative began to view it with alarm. When the French started to fight the English, many felt that the United States ought to intervene to help its old ally, but Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality and summarily dismissed Citizen Edmond Genet who came as emissary of the revolutionists to secure the aid of the United States. Carried away by the support that was given him in the Republican press, and the public ovations he was receiving, Genet defied Washington's proclamation of neutrality by bringing captured English ships into American ports and fitting them out as French privateers. He levelled scurrilous attacks upon the President and his supporters, going so far in his disregard of good taste and ordinary diplomatic courtesy that even the sympathetic Jefferson turned against him.

One reason why Washington and the Federalists were in favor of neutrality was that reviving commerce was rendering the country prosperous and the support of France would endanger the heavy trade with England. To retain this trade, the United States suffered many affronts from the British,—their refusal to withdraw from the fur-trading posts of the

Northwest, their refusal to allow trade with the West Indies and their seizure of merchantmen on the high seas in search of deserters from British vessels who were attracted to the American service by high pay. To maintain peace with England, Washington sent John Jay to England to negotiate a treaty that would settle the differences between the two countries. After protracted negotiations Jay returned with a treaty in which the British agreed to abandon the fur trading posts. The English debt claims and American claims for damages were referred to commissions for arbitration. The East Indies were opened to the trade of the United States but only slight concessions of practically no value were obtained for the valuable West Indian trade. The treaty said nothing about the stopping and search of ships or the impressment of sailors. When published, it was received with a storm of criticism. Jay was burned in effigy throughout the country. Hamilton was stoned in New York for attempting to defend him, but the Senate ratified the treaty and war with England was averted. While the treaty was being negotiated, "Mad" Anthony Wayne successfully crushed the Indians and secured a treaty from them which gave American settlers free access to Ohio.

The year 1795 also saw a peaceful and more satisfactory settlement of the difficulties with Spain. The Pinckney treaty of that year secured for the southwestern pioneers the right of free navigation of the Mississippi to the gulf and also the right of deposit, or the right to transship free of duty, from river to ocean going vessels at New Orleans. The treaty also named the thirty-first parallel of north latitude as the boundary line between Florida and Georgia.

The peaceful settlement of difficulties with the English and the Spanish served to increase them with France, the enemy of England and Spain, for the French revolutionists feared that they would definitely lose the United States as an ally. They proceeded to pursue a policy of bullying the United States into an alliance. After the news of the Jay treaty became known, they refused to receive the American minister. President Adams, who succeeded Washington in 1797, delivered a strong

message on the subject to a special session of Congress. An attempt at further negotiations was made and three commissioners were sent to France. After courteous treatment by the astute Talleyrand, three French envoys, referred to in the American publication of the incident as Messrs. X, Y, and Z, demanded that, as a preliminary to further negotiations, the United States apologize for certain parts of President Adams' message, that the United States lend money to France and that a quarter of a million dollars be turned over to the Directors for their own use. When news of this insult was published, feeling ran high,—“Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute” became the slogan. Congress appropriated large sums of money, new taxes were levied, the army was increased, and a navy department was created. For a year, war, without a declaration of war, was waged between the United States and France. The President was anxious to maintain peace and finally, upon receiving favorable hints from abroad, sent a second commission to negotiate with France. When the commission landed, Napoleon Bonaparte had overthrown the Directory and had established himself as First Consul. He readily concluded a satisfactory settlement with the Americans and peace between the two countries was restored.

Successful as were these efforts to keep the new country out of war, they had the effect of weakening the Federalist party, for the country was bent on war, and Adams' peace efforts made him decidedly unpopular. Many Federalists disagreed with him, even members of his own cabinet who sought advice and took orders from Hamilton. Internal factions thus split the Federalist party and caused them to be guilty of actions that brought down upon their heads the bitter censure of the Republicans,—and of fair-minded critics ever since. Chief among these actions were: (1) the Naturalization Act which lengthened the period of naturalization from five to fourteen years; (2) the Alien Act which gave the President power to deport dangerous aliens and to imprison them in time of war; and (3) the Sedition Act, punishing with fine and imprisonment anyone found guilty of interfering with the laws

or "publishing false or malicious writings against the President, Congress or the government." The Republicans made the most of their opportunity to push forward their violent criticism of the Federalists. Under the influence of Jefferson and Madison, Virginia and Kentucky passed resolutions declaring the Sedition Act null and void as violating the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution and declaring that the proper remedy for the states consisted in the nullification of the unconstitutional acts of Congress. This doctrine of state nullification of the acts of the central government was later to play an important part in American history.

The Revolution of 1800

The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions were mainly intended as campaign documents for the presidential election of 1800, which witnessed the defeat of the Federalists and the triumph of Jeffersonian democracy. Jefferson's election is sometimes called the "revolution of 1800," yet the Republicans, when in power, made few radical changes. The significance of Jefferson's election is to be found rather in the triumph of the social and political philosophy which he represented. Jefferson was a true product of eighteenth century enlightenment. The author of the Declaration of Independence was passionately convinced of the worth of the ideas expressed in that document,—natural and equal rights and government by the consent of the governed. He was a firm believer in freedom of speech and religious toleration and, as we have seen, led the protest against the Sedition Act of the Federalists. In manner he was simple and unaffected, and although not unfamiliar with courtly life, abolished the State functions and ceremonies that had accompanied the Washington and Adams administrations. He was the first President to be inaugurated in the new capital at Washington, then a poorly equipped village of less than four thousand inhabitants. There were no formal rules of etiquette, no precedence of rank or title at his dinner parties. The White House was thrown open so that

all, regardless of dignity or position, might shake hands with the farmer President, whose studied carelessness of dress helped to emphasize his equalitarian doctrines. In characteristic language, Jefferson declared in his inaugural,—“If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.”

The Republicans represented provincial and rural America; they were opposed to the Federalist ideas of a strong national government and distrusted the influence of the aristocratic capitalist. They proceeded to reduce the taxes, abandoning the excise to the delight of the farmer. They cut down expenses by reducing the army and navy, by abolishing positions, and by the frugal husbanding of resources under Gallatin. There was no attempt at interference with the constitution and no effort to overthrow Hamilton's financial system. Despite their supposed devotion to states' rights the Republicans in power were destined to enlarge the sphere of activities of the national government, acquire a vast domain, wage war, charter a second national bank, pursue a bold foreign policy, and see John Marshall as Chief Justice interpret the constitution most freely, and exalt the nation at the expense of the states. The Federalists as protestors against federal encroachment on the rights of the states. Both parties were inconsistent, but their inconsistency was in their methods alone. Each remained steadfast in its aims—to protect the economic interests of the groups it represented.

The first consideration causing the Republicans to abandon their principles of local independence was the necessity of providing federal aid in the way of roads and bridges for the rapidly increasing western settlers who even murmured secession because of the niggardly way the federal government seemed to regard their interests. Events abroad also alarmed the westerners. In 1800 Napoleon had secretly acquired the Louisiana territory from Spain. In 1802 the Pinckney Treaty was violated by a proclamation closing the port of New Or-

leans to American shipping. The French-loving Jefferson wrote in alarm,—“there is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market. France placing herself at that door assumes to us an attitude of defiance. The day that France takes possession of New Orleans . . . seals the union of the two nations From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation.” Jefferson sent Monroe to France to assist Livingston in negotiating the purchase of West Florida and New Orleans. Much to their surprise Napoleon offered to sell the whole of Louisiana territory for approximately fifteen million dollars. Not without opposition from the Federalists and not without constitutional scruples of his own did Jefferson secure the ratification of the treaty which doubled the original territory of the United States.

The reopening of the European War in 1803 plagued the Republicans as it had the Federalists. American shippers were reaping a rich profit from the carrying trade across the Atlantic. American shipping engaged in foreign commerce increased from 363,000 tons in 1791 to 670,000 tons in 1800, to nearly 1,000,000 tons in 1810. In 1806 England blockaded the coast of Europe; Napoleon retaliated by a series of decrees blockading the British Isles and threatened seizure and confiscation of all ships that complied with the British rules. Both France and England adopted the practice of stopping and searching American vessels and impressing American seamen, but in this respect England was by far the worse offender. In 1806 by a non-importation act Congress closed American ports to certain British products and in 1807 passed an Embargo act which forbade all American vessels to leave for foreign ports. Prices soared, thousands employed in the shipping industry were thrown out of work. The South and West lost the markets for their products. Criticism was bitter and Congress finally repealed the Embargo act, substituting for it a Non-Intercourse Act which forbade commerce with

England and France. War fever ran high and was fanned by a group of frontier politicians under the leadership of Clay of Kentucky and Calhoun of South Carolina. These "War Hawks" clamored for war. They hoped to annex Canada and Florida. They argued that the Indians rising against the western settlers were being encouraged by the English. Events on the high seas hastened war, for the seizure of American vessels continued and American war ships started reprisals. Madison, the new President, a Republican, Jefferson's former Secretary of State, discouraged by the failure of his efforts to bring about peace, submitted to the demands of the War Hawks and signed a declaration of war against England in June of 1812.

The War of 1812

The United States was unprepared and England was engaged in her gigantic struggle with Napoleon. War dragged on in inconclusive fashion for nearly three years. Heroic deeds of American sailors served to relieve the humiliation of defeats on land while Jackson's triumphant victory at New Orleans, after peace had been made, caused the war to end in a blaze of glory. News of the treaty of Ghent reached Washington about the same time that the country was rejoicing over Jackson's victory. In the mad enthusiasm of peace and victory little attention was paid to the fact that the treaty said nothing about the seizure of American ships or the impressment of American sailors.

The New England Federalists had opposed the war from the beginning. While it was their ships which were seized, high freight rates made the risks attractive. The West, suffering from the high freight rates and hungry for new territory, brought on the war. During the war the Federalists became nullificationists and asserters of states' rights. In a convention at Hartford they adopted resolutions closely resembling those of Virginia and Kentucky on the Sedition Act, declaring that acts of Congress which violated the constitution

were void and that it was the duty of the states to oppose federal interference with their rights. But the Hartford Convention accomplished nothing except to thoroughly discredit the Federalists, for who would not ridicule those who protested against a war which ended so gloriously?

The outstanding result of the war was the development of a strong national consciousness. The Republican party, champion of rural and provincial America, now adopted policies directly opposed to the principles they professed in the decade of the nineties. They were supported by the new generation of statesmen, who had little respect for Europe and who, supremely confident of their own power, gloried in the possibilities of developing a great, powerful and independent nation. Nationalism was strengthened by the rapid development of the West. The western pioneers having no strong state feeling and being in need of roads and canals, which their own slender resources could not construct, turned to the national government for help.

The war brought financial chaos, and one of the first acts of the now nationalistic Republicans was the chartering of a second United States bank. (The charter of the first bank had expired in 1811 and the Republicans did not then recharter it.) Furthermore, they adopted Hamilton's idea of a protective tariff and by the tariff of 1816 deliberately set out to use the national power of taxation to close American ports to foreign goods, thereby encouraging home manufacturing and rendering the new country economically as well as politically independent of Europe.

Confident in their new strength the new leaders vigorously pushed forward their quarrel with Spain, whose weak government in west Florida encouraged brigandage that seriously interfered with commerce along the gulf. Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, was sent against the Indians, whom the Spaniards were encouraging to attack the pioneers, defeated them, and was ready to take Florida by conquest. The administration would not support him, but, trying the method of negotiation, rounded out its southern territory to the gulf

by purchasing Florida from a weakened Spain in 1819. Within a few years (1823) the new nation assumed a bold attitude toward the powers of Europe by the pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine. After the purchase of Florida the United States recognized the independence of the revolting South American republics and in Monroe's message virtually served notice to the world that it would assume the leadership of the western hemisphere. The United States had come of age.

Equally significant of the new spirit were the series of decisions handed down by the Supreme Court under the leadership of John Marshall, giving a legal and constitutional basis to the new nationalism. The Supreme Court assumed the power, unique in modern governments, to review acts of both Congress and the state legislatures, declaring void those which it found to be unwarranted by the constitution. By a liberal interpretation both of the clauses granting powers to the central government and of those limiting the powers of the states, the powers of the nation were greatly increased at the expense of the states. The precedent established by these decisions has endured, forming a tradition of a powerful central government, judicial supremacy, and broad interpretation of the constitution.

The decade following the war of 1812 thus witnessed nationalism triumphant,—the chartering of a national bank, internal improvements, a protective tariff, a bold foreign policy, westward expansion, and binding constitutional decisions confirming the promise of a new nationalism. Even partisanship was absent, for the decline of Federalism in ridicule and a wild burst of national glory and enthusiasm left the Republicans in easy control of the government. The ten years from 1814 to 1824 were indeed "an era of good feeling." The country was prosperous, expanding. But it was as a calm before the storm; as the country waxed strong, factions began to appear, sectional interest developed and partisan was arrayed against partisan as of old. An era of hard feeling ensued, originating in fundamental economic differences between diverse sections, destined to become violent and lead to

war when the moral issue of the abolition or extension of slavery presented itself.

SPANISH AMERICA

Central and South America were not free from the influence of eighteenth century rationalism or the revolutionary doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity. These ideas were at work everywhere throughout the European world, and in a very real sense the Americas, both North and South, were European in their traditions and their culture.

At the close of the eighteenth century all the territory south of the Gulf of Mexico, except the huge state of Brazil and some of the islands of the Caribbean, belonged to Spain. Brazil was Portugal's, while England and France shared with Spain control over the Caribbean. Spain owed her vast empire to the fact that she closely followed discovery with exploration and settlement. Numerous Spanish adventurers—notably Cortes in Mexico, Pizarro in Peru, De Mendoza in the La Plata region of Argentine—sought wealth and glory, and as a result of their work Spain obtained a firm hold on South America. These early conquistadors found a large native population of Indians whose civilization in many instances had achieved a considerable degree of development—particularly the Mayas in Central America, the Aztecs in Mexico and the Incas in Peru. These early inhabitants had apparently been living in the Americas for several thousands of years. Their history presents an interesting problem for the archaeologist and anthropologist, but as yet our knowledge of them is too scanty to say definitely when they migrated from the European or, as seems more probable, from the Asiatic mainland. As yet no evidence pushes man's existence in the Americas beyond a few thousand years or assigns to the Indian an antiquity of origin equal to that of men in the Old World.

The Spanish explorers were richly rewarded, for South America is one of the earth's richest regions. Its mineral

wealth is almost limitless, and for centuries the Spanish devoted their chief attention to mining silver and gold. Copper, iron and oil are also plentiful; Mexico still leads the world in the production of silver and is equally famous for her oil supply. Brazil contains boundless iron deposits; Chile is famous for its nitrates, and Venezuela for its asphalt. South America also produces a wide variety of plants and vegetables. Medicinal plants and herbs abound; rubber is obtainable in vast quantities in Brazil; tropical fruits grow abundantly as well as cotton, coffee, sugar cane, tobacco, spices, nuts, gums, resins, and a variety of vegetable oils. The forests are rich in cabinet woods—mahogany, cedar, rosewood and ebony. Toward the south are great agricultural areas on which cereals of all kinds can be grown; here, too, are the famous grassy pampas, where the grazing of cattle, sheep and horses is profitable. Argentine has become one of the chief sources of supply for the world's meat and hides.

The Spaniards and Portuguese came not as home-seekers, but as missionaries, gold-hunters and exploiters of native labor. By diverse means the missionaries, chiefly Jesuits and Franciscans, converted the Indians to Roman Catholic Christianity and the Catholic Church dominated the intellectual life of Spanish America. This domination has continued right down to the present. The Church still controls education in most of the states; a large part of the literature has been produced by priests; the internal development of every country has been marked by quarrels between clericals and anti-clericals.

The conversion of the Indians did not prevent their ruthless exploitation at hard labor in the mines. To provide a still larger force of cheap labor great numbers of Negro slaves were imported. Since the early settlers did not bring their wives and families, intermarriage between Spaniard, Indian, and Negro was common, and this has produced a bewildering mixture of races. A system of classes developed not unlike that existing in Europe of the old regime. At the top were the Spanish-born whites, who had a monopoly of the important positions in government, army and church.

Next in the social scale came the creoles, the American-born whites and descendants of whites and Indian chieftains. They constituted an unprivileged middle class, the merchants and the professional men, looked down upon by the officials and discriminated against by the home government. At the bottom were the Indians, the Negroes and the various mixtures of the three races who did the hard work of the country and, whether slave or free, led a miserable existence.

Spanish government during the colonial period was aristocratic and despotic. The country was divided into provinces presided over by viceroys responsible to the Spanish king; provinces were subdivided into districts presided over by captains-general responsible to the viceroys. Spain herself lacked liberal traditions in government and administration and naturally none developed in her colonies. Viceroys and other officials were often tyrannical and corrupt; justice was poorly administered. No institutions developed whereby the colonists could learn to manage things for themselves; there were no deliberative assemblies such as the legislatures of the English colonies. The character of the population worked against the development of local interest in government, for the native Spaniards, who were few in number, had a monopoly of the higher offices.

Unlike England, Spain closed the doors of South America to immigrants from other countries and restricted immigration from Spain. Religious heretics were not tolerated in the colonies. Spain was jealous of her treasure house and monopolized the trade which others, especially Great Britain, hungered for. Monopolies of the right to conduct economic enterprises were granted to favorites; farming, stock-raising and mining were carried on as large scale industries, Negroes, Indians, half-breeds and mulattoes who lacked capital to become small enterprisers, furnishing plenty of cheap labor.

The revolutions in Europe and North America had been brought about by the middle class, but the creoles who made up the middle class in Latin America were comparatively weak and lacked the support of a body of small farmers or free

artisans to back up their demands for self-government. Nevertheless, in the last half of the eighteenth century the works of Montesquieu, Rousseau and Voltaire came to have some influence throughout the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, despite the efforts of the home governments to maintain a strict censorship. News of the American Revolution sifted into Spanish America and its lessons were not lost. Translations of the Declaration of Independence were widely circulated. As travelers came back from Europe, liberty, equality and fraternity began to be discussed. Both revolutions, American and French, furnished inspiration to oppressed classes in Latin America.

The activities of Napoleon furnished the immediate background for the revolt of the Spanish colonies. In 1808 Napoleon removed the Spanish king and placed his brother, Joseph, on the Spanish throne. We have seen that in Spain the people organized revolutionary *juntas* and refused to recognize the usurper. So, too, in the colonies Spanish officials refused to recognize Joseph and formed *juntas* proclaiming their loyalty to Ferdinand. In some of the colonies these *juntas*, dominated by the official class, remained in control; in others the creoles, anxious for more liberal government and freer trade relations, overthrew the officials, proclaiming their complete independence from Spain. When Ferdinand was restored in 1814 he acted like a true Bourbon, refusing to recognize that things had changed. He put the old restrictions on commerce into effect and immediately revolution broke out in all the colonies. The United States was sympathetic. Trade relations were strengthened but recognition was postponed. England kept up a pretense of neutrality but secretly furnished money, ships and munitions, and allowed British citizens to join the revolutionary forces.

The three great heroes of South American independence were Miranda, Bolivar and San Martin. Miranda, a native of Venezuela, fought with the French army in the American Revolution and later with Dumouriez in the Republican army of France. Determined to free Venezuela from Spanish rule,

he for years tried vainly to get help from the governments of France, England and the United States. Finally he organized an expedition at his own expense and, with the help of private citizens in the United States and of a British admiral, he landed in 1806 proclaiming the Republic of Colombia. Defeated at first, he organized a second expedition, but after some successes he was taken prisoner and died in a Spanish dungeon.

Miranda's work was completed by Simon Bolivar. Of a rich creole family of Venezuela, he was educated in Spain and then traveled extensively in the United States and Europe, becoming imbued with the ideas of the French Revolution. He took part in Miranda's uprisings and after Miranda's failure he kept the revolutionary spirit alive in Venezuela. For ten years, undismayed by lack of funds, internal dissensions or the odds against him, he kept up the warfare against the Spanish authorities, finally winning the independence of Venezuela and New Granada (Colombia), which were united into the Republic of Colombia under his presidency. Not content with this, three years later, he led an army into Ecuador, won its independence and then defeated the Spaniards in northern Peru, where a new state, named Bolivia after him, was formed. Although he was charged by his enemies with working for his own selfish ends and of hoping to make himself dictator of all the northern part of South America, he spent a large fortune in his wars for independence, dying a poor man. Statues of the "Great Liberator" adorn the capitals of Colombia, Peru and Bolivia, which owe their independence largely to his efforts.

San Martin was born in the Argentine region but received a military education in Madrid. After fighting in the Spanish army against Napoleon he returned to South America to join the revolutionists in Argentina in 1812. Convinced that the security of Argentina depended on driving the Spaniards out of Chile, he organized a small force and by a series of brilliant campaigns won Chilean independence in 1818. He then took his forces into Peru, adding that to the list of republics.

In Mexico a revolution broke out in 1810 which was suppressed after seven years of fighting. In 1820 a second revolt occurred which gained independence for Mexico the following year. In 1823 the small states of Central America, organizing themselves into the United Provinces of Central America, declared their independence.

Thus everywhere throughout Latin America revolutions were under way from 1810 to 1825. Brazil, the Portuguese colony, imitated its Spanish neighbors in 1822. When Napoleon overran Portugal the royal family fled to Brazil, where King John established various reforms. Upon his return to Portugal Prince Pedro was left in charge in Brazil and, sensing the revolutionary sentiment, put himself at the head of it, proclaiming the independence of Brazil and granting a constitution. Brazil remained a monarchy until 1889, when a republic was proclaimed.

By 1826 the revolutionary movement was complete and of the once vast Spanish Empire only the two island colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico remained loyal. It is worth repeating that the successful revolt of the colonies was made possible not only because of the weakness of Spain, but also because of the friendly sympathy of Great Britain and the United States. Great Britain saw in their revolt an opportunity to capture the trade which the mercantile policy of Spain and Portugal had restricted to the mother country. While the British government maintained an outward air of neutrality, British citizens contributed powerfully to the insurgents. The youthful United States, fearing that the Quadruple Alliance was about to interfere in behalf of Spain, decided on a bold stroke to forestall European action,—Monroe's enunciation of the doctrine that bears his name. The Monroe Doctrine, together with America's recognition of the independence of the new republics, had the desired effect. England recognized their independence in 1825, and Spain did so in the following year. England's action in this struggle marks her abandonment of the Quadruple Alliance and her determination to play a lone hand in international politics,—a policy which

she pursued with few exceptions throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.

The career of the independent Central and South American states has been a stormy one. One of the first things that happened was the breakup of the large states that had won independence into smaller units. Uruguay separated from Brazil (1828) and the huge Colombia of Bolivar broke up into three republics, Venezuela, Ecuador, and New Granada (later Colombia). The Central American federation fell apart into the five little republics of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, and have ever since been discussing the problem of refederation. Santo Domingo broke away from Haiti (1844). Internal revolutions have been frequent, caused by the ambitions of greedy politicians and made easy by the helplessness and ignorance of the down-trodden peons. Defeated candidates frequently refuse to accept the decision of the ballot, often with truth claiming fraud and violence, and resort to the sword. Not only have the twenty republics been hampered by the instability of their political institutions, but they have constantly disputed and warred with each other over frontiers and boundaries; many such disputes are still hanging fire,—notably the famous Tacna-Arica dispute between Chile and Peru.

Political instability, peculiar racial characteristics, and the absence of an active and intelligent bourgeoisie, the lack of capital and adequate transportation facilities tended to hamper the progress of South America. But in recent years the rate of progress has been more rapid and is beginning to attract world-wide attention. The resources of the continent have attracted huge sums of foreign capital and this is causing a rapid development of the means of transportation and the exploitation of its natural wealth. Argentine, Brazil and Chile, commonly referred to as the A. B. C. powers, have far outstripped their sister republics, and have achieved a distinct superiority. The United States, England, Germany, and France have been the sources of the supply of capital flowing into South American resources; loans have been made to the

various governments and to industrial and financial corporations that promote railways, mines, and plantations. Not infrequently these loans have involved the republics in serious political and international disturbances. The Monroe Doctrine has prevented the European nations from acquiring territorial control; but the increasing investments of citizens of the United States in the republics, north of the Amazon particularly, is causing alarm to Latin Americans. South America no longer regards the Monroe Doctrine as the beneficent shield which has saved them from European aggression and exploitation, but as a weapon which the United States is wielding to entrench itself. The day may be not far distant when the republics of South America will turn to the older states of Europe or to international tribunals to save them from the aggression of a nation they once considered as exemplar, friend and benefactor.

CHAPTER VI

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

WE have devoted considerable space to a description of the French Revolution and its effects both in France and throughout the world. The French Revolution was an important step in the history of mankind. It brought about changes, both immediate and indirect, in government, in the people's relation to government and in the relations between social classes. In its fundamental effects on the everyday life of the great mass of the people, however, it was insignificant as compared with another development which began about the same time,—the Industrial Revolution. The French Revolution gave a new class, the bourgeoisie, a voice in world affairs; the Industrial Revolution did the same for the common man.

The term "Industrial Revolution" is used in different senses. In its narrower meaning it may be defined as the change from hand to machine methods of manufacturing and the consequent transfer of manufacturing from the home to the factory. This change is sometimes called the mechanical revolution and may be said to have been completed in England about 1840 and at a later period in other countries. In a broader sense, the term "Industrial Revolution" is used to include not only these changes but their results, the almost complete change in the economic and social life of those parts of the world where machinery and factories have come,—the ever-increasing proportion of the population living in cities and engaging in manufacture, the tremendous growth of trade, both domestic and foreign, the bringing of the peoples of the world closer together by improved means of transportation, the great increase in the volume and use of capital together with increased power for its holders, the rise of a class of

factory workers demanding a larger share of the profits of industry and a greater voice in the government. In this broader sense of the term the Industrial Revolution is still going on,—cities are still growing; trade and manufacture expanding; new inventions are constantly being made and new processes developed; steam as a motive power is being supplemented, if not displaced, by gasoline and electricity; single factories are being merged into gigantic combinations; allied industries are being brought more and more under the control of a few powerful capitalists.

CAUSES

What were the causes of the Industrial Revolution? The immediate cause, of course, was the invention of machines, but why were machines invented? Among the earliest traces that man left upon the earth were tools that helped him in his work. Why after thousands of years, during which these tools were improved but not radically changed, did man about the middle of the eighteenth century begin to invent machines that did work themselves? We can give no dogmatic answer to this question. Perhaps it was merely an accident. There were certain conditions existing in the later part of the eighteenth century, however, that help to explain why the inventions were made. We have noted the rise of a new scientific spirit, a spirit of inquiry and experimentation. This probably helped to bring about the inventions, although, as we shall see, it was not scientists but workingmen who made most of the early ones. A more important factor was the growth of trade. For thousands of years almost the sole occupation of the people of the earth was agriculture, and agriculture does not inspire originality. People went on year after year, living in small lonely villages, doing the same things in the ways their fathers had taught them. With the growth of trade more people began living in towns, where they came in contact with other minds from different parts of the world. Town life was more stimulating; the rate of progress quick-

ened. In another way the growth of trade affected inventions more directly,—by creating a demand for more manufactured goods. We have seen how the demand for goods to export to the East and to America greatly increased hand manufactures. The invention of machines was a natural outcome of the search for ways to further increase the supply of manufactured goods.

Since England was the country with the greatest export trade, it was natural that the demand for increased manufactures should be strongest there. Since she had large scale hand manufactures, she had a large body of skilled workers to experiment with machines. Finally she had capital, the profits of trade looking for investment, a most important factor, since without capital, machines could never have been made or factories built. Since England had the requisite factors to a greater degree than any other country,—an effective demand, a body of skilled workers and capital looking for investment,—it was natural that the Industrial Revolution should start in that country.

THE NEW MACHINES

The first branch of industry to be revolutionized by the introduction of machinery was textiles. In the manufacture of cloth, cotton, woolen or linen, there are several processes, the most important of which are the preparation of the raw material by straightening the fibres, the spinning of the fibres into thread or yarn and the weaving of the thread into cloth. For centuries the raw wool had been combed and the cotton carded by hand, the thread had been spun on a spinning wheel worked by hand or by a foot tread and the weaving had been done on a hand loom on which the weaver had woven the "weft" over and under the alternate threads of the "warp" with a hand shuttle. Under the domestic system the carding and spinning was usually done by the women and younger children of the family and the weaving by the father and older sons. Weaving was a faster process than spinning,

so that the weaver was often held up in his work waiting for the thread. This difficulty was increased by the invention by John Kay, in 1738, of the flying shuttle, a device which enabled the weaver to sit still and throw the shuttle back and forth across the loom by pulling cords.

The first step in the solution of the problem of supplying the weavers with more thread was made by the invention of the spinning-jenny by James Hargreaves in 1764. This was a device by which several spindles were operated by one wheel. This made it possible to spin eight threads at one time and before his death Hargreaves had increased the number to eighty. At about the same time Richard Arkwright, making use of the ideas of several other men, developed a machine for spinning by the use of a series of rollers. He obtained his first patent in 1769 and made a fortune of \$2,000,000 by the sale of the machine and by the establishment of factories in which the machines were used. Arkwright was the first great factory owner, the first of the "captains of industry." Hargreaves' jenny spun the finer thread, but Arkwright's "water-frame" was faster. In 1779 Samuel Crompton invented a machine combining the best qualities of both which, because of its hybrid origin, was called the spinning mule. At about the same time various machines for carding cotton and flax and combing wool came into general use. These improvements in preparing material and spinning reversed the former situation so that the weavers could not now keep up with the spinners. This in turn was remedied by the invention by Edward Cartwright of a power loom.

The improvements in manufacturing cloth lowered the price, thereby increasing the consumption so that more raw material was needed. Up to this time cotton had been a relatively expensive material due to the fact that the extraction of the fibre from the seeds about which it grew had been done by hand, a slow and expensive process. In 1793 Eli Whitney, an American school teacher, invented the cotton gin, a machine which enabled one person to pick as much

cotton from the seeds as fifty could do by hand. This machine so cheapened the production of raw cotton that cotton cloth became the poor man's clothing material the world over. Incidentally, it so stimulated the growth of cotton that slavery was fastened on the southern United States for two more generations.

It is characteristic of the Industrial Revolution that one invention, by creating new needs, has led to another. We have seen that the spinning machines led to the power loom and this, in turn, to the cotton gin. The great number of machines in use created a demand for a strong material for their construction, which led to improvements in the smelting of iron. Iron and steel had been used for centuries but their production had been so expensive as to make their general use prohibitive. The smelting of iron by a charcoal fire with a hand bellows to produce the draft, one of England's oldest industries, was dying out rather than increasing at the middle of the eighteenth century because of the exhaustion of the forests from which the fuel was secured. In 1760 a new kind of blast furnace using coal instead of charcoal was introduced and in 1790 a steam engine was used to operate the bellows. The use of coal for smelting iron not only revolutionized the iron industry but led to a great increase in coal mining. Before many of the coal mines could be worked, however, some device had to be developed for pumping the water out of them. This hastened the perfecting of the steam engine, an inefficient type of which had been in use for several years.

The steam engine is a good illustration of the fact that most inventions are a social product, that is, they are usually the work of many men experimenting along the same line rather than the product of one genius. Often the person who is credited with an invention is merely the one who has fitted the last link into a long chain of discoveries. The expansive power of steam had been known to the ancient Greeks, but no practical use was made of it before the eighteenth century. Savery, an Englishman, Hugelyens, a Dutchman, and Papin,

a Frenchman, all did their bit in making a workable steam engine, but it was Newcomen, another Englishman, who first produced one of practical value. In Newcomen's engine, which was first used to pump water from mines about 1711, steam was introduced into a cylinder forcing up a piston head. The steam was then condensed by cooling the cylinder with a jet of water, thus leaving a vacuum so that the piston head dropped, working a pump to which it was attached. James Watt, an instrument maker at the University of Glasgow, in repairing one of Newcomen's engines, was struck by the great waste involved in cooling and reheating the cylinder for each stroke of the piston. He worked out a scheme for condensing the steam in a separate condenser, applying steam first to one side of the piston head and then to the other, making the strokes much more rapid and saving a great quantity of fuel. Later he added the governor, two revolving balls which made the motion regular and the speed uniform, and introduced a system of rods, cranks and belts by which the power generated by the engine could be used to drive any machinery. These changes, which seem so obvious once they are made, transformed the steam engine from an inefficient and expensive pumping device into an instrument which has had an almost incalculable effect in transforming modern life.

In 1785 steam was first used for power in a cotton mill and its use was rapidly extended to other branches of manufacture. Before this time manufacturers had been obliged to depend mainly on water power to drive their machinery, and as the amount of water power in England was limited it seemed that manufacture could expand only up to a certain point. The use of steam made the indefinite expansion of industry possible. The demand for coal to generate steam has made coal one of the most highly prized of natural resources. A plentiful supply of coal has been instrumental in making England, Germany and the United States the great manufacturing nations that they are.

Fully as important as the use of steam in industry has been its application to transportation. A small model boat pro-

pelled by steam was developed in Germany as early as 1707; but, although many men worked to perfect this invention, it was left for Robert Fulton, an American, to make the steamboat commercially practical. In 1807 Fulton's *Clermont* made the voyage from New York to Albany in thirty-two hours. In 1819 the *Savannah*, using both steam and sails, crossed the Atlantic and in 1838 the *Great Western* steamed from Bristol to New York in fifteen days and ten hours. In 1924 the *Mauretania* went from New York to Cherbourg in five days, one hour and forty-nine minutes, an average speed of 26.25 knots per hour. The German 59,957 ton *Vaterland*, remodeled and rechristened the *Leviathan*, with its oil-burning turbine engines of 100,000 horsepower, has maintained a speed of more than twenty-eight knots per hour for seventy-five miles.

The railway locomotive, like the steam engine and the steamboat, was the product of the experiments of many different men. Richard Trevithik, in 1808, built a locomotive that ran twelve miles an hour on a railway in London. George Stephenson improved Trevithik's locomotive and in 1825 opened the first English railway maintaining a regular passenger and freight service with steam-drawn trains. By 1850 all the large cities of England were connected by railways and they were multiplying rapidly throughout Europe and America. It is almost impossible to overestimate the importance of the railway and steamship in modern life. Together with the telephone and telegraph they have greatly promoted nationalism by binding the people of vast countries like the United States together. They have also promoted internationalism since they have brought peoples of different nations together. They carry the products of the great industrial centers of Europe and the United States to the most distant parts of the earth, bringing back food supplies and raw materials. Without them to transport food from the newly-developed lands of Australia and North and South America, the great cities of Europe could never have grown up. If every man, woman and child in the United States did

nothing but carry freight, carrying seventy-five pounds fifty miles every day for a year they would not carry as much as the railways of the country carried in 1920.

REACTION ON AGRICULTURE

Just as one invention led to another in manufacture, so the great increase in manufactures reacted upon agriculture. For centuries there was little to lead the farmer to improve his methods. He was raising food for his own family's consumption and if he had produced a surplus there would have been no market for it. We have noted how the growth of trade and the consequent creation of a market for farm produce led to improvements in farming in England. As manufacture increased, the population grew, and there was more and more of a demand for farm products with relatively fewer farmers to supply it. Moreover, under the domestic system most of the hand manufacturers had had a little piece of land where they raised vegetables and kept a cow and a pig which they pastured on the common land. As cities grew it became impossible for the factory workers to combine agriculture and manufacture in this way. The factory worker, who gave all his time to manufacturing and who lived in a closely settled district instead of in a cottage surrounded by fields, had to buy all his food. The increased demand for farm products made the improved methods of farming which were exceptional in the middle of the eighteenth century,—rotation of crops, use of clover, use of artificial fertilizer, careful breeding of stock,—the rule at the beginning of the nineteenth. From 1770 to 1830 over five and one-half million acres, for most part common lands, were enclosed. Unlike the enclosures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, these enclosures were not for the purpose of sheep raising but for substituting the new methods of farming. Although compensation was paid to the dispossessed villagers for the loss of their common land, it was inadequate, so that the enclosures caused a great deal of suffering. It was of this period that the well-known rhyme was written:

The law locks up the man or woman
Who steals the goose from off the common;
But leaves the greater villain loose
Who steals the common from the goose.

The enclosures, however, made for better agricultural methods and increased the food supply of England.

In spite of the great increase in the total amount of food produced, England could not long feed her ever-growing population. Early in the nineteenth century she became an importer of foodstuffs and the value of her food imports has steadily mounted along with her exports of manufactures. Today England imports more than seventy percent of her food besides a vast amount of raw materials for manufacture. During the nineteenth century the United States became the food producer for Europe and it was in the United States that practically all the modern agricultural machines were invented and put into use. The improvements in agricultural machinery, it should be noted, were made possible by the improved methods of making iron and steel. We have not the space even to catalog the many inventions of farm machinery. A comparison of methods of growing and harvesting grain of a century ago with those of today will illustrate the progress made.

The farmer of a century ago plowed the land with a wooden or crude iron plow drawn by horses or oxen. He broke up the sod with a wooden harrow or by the more primitive method of dragging brush across it. The seed was sowed broadcast by hand. The ripened grain was cut by a hand cradle,—an acre cut in a twelve-hour day of grueling labor by this method was a record which few could equal. The grain was then threshed by a hand flail,—two heavy sticks tied together,—or by driving cattle over it on the barn floor. We still find many of these primitive methods in use today on small farms, since many farmers have not the capital to make use of modern machinery. The up-to-date farmer, however, plows his land with a gang plow (that is, one plowing

several furrows at once) of chilled steel drawn by a tractor. It is harrowed as it is plowed by a spring tooth or disc harrow made of cast iron or steel. The seed is sown by a machine drill, also tractor drawn, insuring an even distribution and proper covering of the seed. The grain is cut and bound into compact bundles by a reaper and binder and threshed by a threshing machine capable of threshing several thousand bushels a day. In some sections a "header" which cuts off the heads of the grain and threshes them all in one process is used. Twenty acres of grain was the maximum which one man could handle under the old methods. Many farmers today using modern machinery do practically all the work on a quarter-section (160 acres) devoted entirely to grain growing.

SPREAD OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM

In England coal mines, blast furnaces and factories so multiplied during the nineteenth century that by 1850 she had become a thoroughly industrialized country. The great majority of her population was no longer engaged in agriculture but in manufacturing, mining or commerce. The fact that the Industrial Revolution started in England gave her an advantage which she held throughout the century. Her well-established manufactures could undersell any others in the world's markets. She could justly claim to be the workshop of the world. On the continent the factory system came more than a generation later than in England. The revolution and the Napoleonic wars kept industry from developing in France, but after 1825, when England removed the ban on exports of machinery, manufacturing developed rapidly. Commerce and industry were fostered by both Louis Philippe and Napoleon III. France, however, has never become so thoroughly industrialized as England. In the first place, she was handicapped by lack of coal and, secondly, the system of land holding established by the revolution, by which the peasants owned their own small farms, made the peasant less willing to leave the farm for the factory than in England.

France has tended to specialize in small establishments manufacturing finer goods and luxuries rather than in the large scale production of standard goods characteristic of England.

The Industrial Revolution was held back in Germany for more than half a century by the fact that there was no united government but thirty-eight states each blocking trade by its own tariff laws. The *Zollverein*, or Tariff Union, made among the northern states in 1834, helped matters somewhat, and manufacturing on a small scale was started. It was not until after German unification in 1870, however, that large scale industry started. Then, thanks to her rich deposits of coal and iron and the industry of her population, her progress was phenomenal. By the end of the century she rivaled England in many lines and surpassed her in some.

Italy, like Germany, was handicapped by lack of unity until the later part of the nineteenth century. After 1860, thanks partly to the policy of Cavour, manufactures began to develop in northern Italy and have continued to prosper, in spite of Italy's lack of coal. In Belgium, Holland and Switzerland the change to the factory system was under way by 1840 and has continued to develop, especially in Belgium. In Austria-Hungary, Russia, the Balkans, Spain and the Scandinavian countries, there was practically no manufacturing until well after 1850 and little before 1890. Even today these countries, especially Russia and the Balkans, are primarily agricultural, the occasional large scale industries encountered being the exception rather than the rule.

In the United States machine manufacture started early in the nineteenth century, but agriculture remained the occupation of the great majority until after the Civil War. In the last quarter of the century manufactures developed rapidly and, although the value of farm products steadily increased with the opening of new lands in the west, since 1880 the value of manufactures has annually exceeded the value of farm products. Today the United States, while still a great agricultural country, produces more manufactured goods than any other country in the world. But just about one-half her

population is engaged in trade and manufacture as compared with nine-tenths in England and two-thirds in Germany.

RESULTS

To describe completely the effects of the Industrial Revolution we would have to write a history of the world for the past hundred years, for there is hardly an institution that has not been affected nor a person living whose life has not been modified profoundly by it. More changes in the way people live have taken place in the last 150 years than in any previous 10,000. If an Egyptian who lived 6,000 years ago when the first written records were made could, like Rip Van Winkle, have fallen asleep to awake in 1750, he would have found many strange things, many new ideas; but he would, on the whole, have found fewer changes and have been able to adjust himself to the new life more easily than a person who might have fallen asleep in 1750 to awake today.

The direct economic effect of the introduction of machinery and factories was a great increase in the productivity of labor and a consequent tremendous increase in the amount of commodities produced. In 1720 England used in her cotton manufactures about 4,000 bales of raw cotton; in 1820 this had increased to a quarter of a million bales; in 1850 to well over a million bales, and in 1900 to more than three million. In 1913 England produced 14,000 miles of cotton cloth daily. Similar figures could be given in every line of manufacture. If there could have been created for every person in Europe and America in 1750 ten iron men to have worked unceasingly twenty-four hours a day every day since, they could not have accomplished the work which machinery has done.

This increased production has meant a higher standard of living for the great mass of mankind. Although millions of people today are living in poverty, and the difference between poor and rich was never so great, nevertheless many things that were luxuries or unheard of a century and a half ago are now necessities. The average workingman of today eats bet-

ter food of greater variety and has better clothes and more of them than any but the very richest of 150 years ago.

The introduction of machinery meant a greater division of labor. Under the domestic system a shoemaker, for example, made a pair of shoes entirely himself, sold them himself and also produced a part of his own food. In a modern shoe factory each shoe goes through nearly one hundred different processes, each performed by different machines and different workmen. Each employee is a specialist, spending all his time on one minute process with no direct concern for the finished product as a whole or for its sale. Not only have individuals become specialists, but localities and nations. Detroit is famous for automobiles, Troy for collars, Pittsburgh for steel, while all the world knows of English woollens, German dyes and American farm machinery.

Increased production meant, of course, increased trade. Localization of industry meant trade between localities, and specialization by nations meant increased foreign trade. The combined value of English exports and imports was, in 1701, £12,000,000; in 1802, £73,000,000; and in 1920, £3,489,000,000. The value of exports and imports of the United States was, in 1800, \$162,000,000; in 1860, \$687,000,000; and in 1920, \$13,342,000,000.

One of the most important social results of the Industrial Revolution was a great increase in population. The population of Europe more than doubled during the nineteenth century. Great Britain's population increased from 10,500,000 in 1801 to 40,800,000 in 1911. The territory included in the German Empire had a population of about 25,000,000 in 1816, 41,000,000 in 1871 and 65,000,000 in 1910. No one can speak dogmatically, of course, about the exact causes of this tremendous increase, but one main factor seems to have been the development of new means of transportation, which brought cheap food from the new lands of America, making it easier to make a living than it had ever been before. Then, too, since women and children could be employed at the machines, workers became self-supporting and married at

an earlier age than before. Since each child was a potential wage earner there was little attempt to limit the size of families. Another important factor was the advances made in the science of medicine, which materially cut down the death rate in all the countries of Europe.

Although some country districts have grown slightly, the bulk of the increase in population came in the cities. At the beginning of the nineteenth century only fourteen cities in Europe had a population of 100,000 or over, while at the close of the century there were 140. In England one hundred years ago less than twenty percent of the people lived in cities; today less than twenty percent live in the country. This rapid growth of cities, and especially the fact that in most countries they have grown in a hit-or-miss fashion without any definite plan, has added greatly to the problems of present-day life. Closely crowded tenements cheaply built with no regard for beauty and little for health, have become the homes of most factory workers. Housing, sanitation, disposal of garbage, water supply, fire protection, police protection, transportation are all much more complex problems in a great modern city than they were in an eighteenth century town.

The Industrial Revolution resulted in the rise of two new social classes, or rather in the greatly increased importance of two already in existence, — capital and labor. Capital had been in existence from the earliest times, but there had been a comparatively small amount of it, and its owners, the capitalists, had exercised no great power. Under the guild system the master workman, since he owned his shop and advanced money for raw materials, was a capitalist, but he was also a workman, a superintendent, salesman and manager. The growth of trade increased the amount and importance of capital. The wealth made by the merchants was reinvested in goods and ships and continued to multiply. Here, too, the capitalist was usually a manager as well, although the rise of the joint stock company made it easy for those who wished to invest money without taking any active part in the busi-

ness to do so. The first capitalists in manufacturing were those under the domestic system who bought raw materials, gave them out to workmen to manufacture for wages and sold the finished product.

The Industrial Revolution brought capital to the fore to such an extent that our present economic system is called the capitalist system. It required a great deal of capital to make machines, build factories, railway lines, locomotives and steamships. Capital invested in the new enterprises earned large returns which were reinvested, producing still more capital. Although some capitalists still took an active part in the management of their businesses, with the growth of corporations many merely furnished capital and left technical direction to hired managers. The general policy of the corporation, however, continued to be fixed by the capitalists through boards of directors elected by themselves. Since capital was harder to secure than labor it was natural that the control of the enterprises should go to those who furnished the capital, rather than to the workers. This is the secret of the great power of the capitalist in our present society; since he controls industry and the worker is dependent upon industry he controls the worker. Since the attitude of government toward industry is important, the capitalist has reached out to control government; and so successful has he been that the old ruling classes have been entirely displaced and the governments of all our industrial countries are controlled mainly by business men in the interest of business.

There has always been work to do in the world, and since the earliest times there has been a distinct working class comprising the great majority of the population. With the coming of machinery the factory workers formed a new class of labor which is in many ways more dependent than any previous class. The slave, who did the hard work of the world for many centuries, had no personal liberty, but since he was a valuable piece of property his owner saw to it that he did not lack sufficient food and shelter to keep him able to work. The serf on the medieval manor likewise had a hard life, but

he could not be sold from the land or be deprived of his right to make a living from it. The hand manufacturer under the guild and domestic systems was subject to harsh regulations which he had no voice in making, but since he owned his own tools and the market was only a local one, he could usually make a living. All these earlier classes of workers, it may be said, were sure of a poor living. The modern factory worker enjoys, on the whole, a higher standard of living, but he is not sure of it.

The new machines were so expensive that the individual worker could not afford to buy them, and since the market had become a world market he would have had difficulty in disposing of his products even if he had had the machine to make them. As it was impossible to compete by hand labor with the cheaper machine products, the worker was compelled to go to work on a machine owned by a capitalist in a factory owned by a capitalist. As the capitalist was in business primarily for profit he could not operate his factory when the condition of the market was not such as to pay him a profit. The laborer with no land to fall back on and nothing to sell but his labor was ever haunted by the fear of unemployment and consequently usually accepted employment on the capitalist's terms, however hard they might be.

In the early days of the Industrial Revolution in England, before the industries were thoroughly organized and before any restrictive regulations were adopted, conditions were so bad that the period is sometimes referred to as the "reign of terror of the Industrial Revolution." Woman and child labor was common, hours of labor long, wages low, factories unsanitary, dangerous machinery unguarded. Conditions were so bad that various groups were aroused to try to better them. Workers began to organize themselves into labor unions and labor parties; philanthropists tried to help matters by legislation; a few far-sighted employers voluntarily introduced improvements. Of these various attempts to solve what we call the "labor problem" and their partial success we shall tell

in a later chapter, but we should remember that the labor problem dates from the Industrial Revolution.

While the new inventions have enriched the laborer's life in many ways, the division of labor which resulted from the introduction of machinery has tended to make the work itself less interesting. When all goods were made by hand every workman was to a certain extent an artist. There is a satisfaction in turning out a piece of completed work, whether it is a painting or a pair of shoes, a poem or a piece of broadcloth. The artistic pride which did much to keep up the standard of workmanship under the guild system is entirely lacking for the workman whose duty is to watch a machine doing one minute step in a complicated process thousands of times a day. As machines have become more automatic the workman himself has become little more than an automaton. Physicians tell us that the great increase in insanity and nervous diseases is due to our machine civilization. Doubtless a large part of the modern craving for excitement, the popularity of yellow newspapers, inane movies and fantastic secret societies as well as the increased consumption of alcohol, tobacco and drugs, noticeable in every industrial country, is due to the desire of the worker to relieve the monotony of machine labor.

One of the first political effects of the Industrial Revolution was the greatly increased power of the capitalist class. The old ruling class, the landlords, has not so much been superseded as it has been absorbed by the new bourgeoisie. Landlords have invested their surplus wealth in industrial enterprises, their sons have gone into business, their daughters have married into capitalist families. On the other hand, rich factory owners or railway magnates have bought the estates of impoverished landlords for the sake of social prestige until we have an almost complete amalgamation of the two classes into one.

Other political effects were the rise of socialist and labor parties to challenge the right of the capitalists to rule the

world, and the development of imperialism, the rivalry for colonies as a market for manufactured goods and especially as a place for the investment of capital. Both of these topics which have played so important a part in recent history will be taken up in later chapters. One more political effect remains to be mentioned,—the growth of democracy.

The growth of democracy has been characteristic of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Suffrage has been extended step by step until practically every civilized country gives all men the right to vote. The woman suffrage movement has made rapid strides in recent years. Written constitutions have been adopted as safeguards of individual rights. Ministries responsible to parliament have been established in practically every European country. When the Congress of Vienna met, democracy was almost untried in Europe; it was a bogey word, a something to be feared and crushed if possible. By the time of the Versailles conference democracy had become respectable. Everything was done in its name. No politician today, however much he may try to mislead public opinion or strive to defeat it in private, would dare to flout it openly.

The growth of democracy has been coincident in most countries with the growth of industry and partly at least may be said to have been caused by it. Popular education has been an indispensable element in and a major reason for the growth of democracy. Cheap books and newspapers, products of the steam printing press, have made it possible. The interest of employers wanting workers with at least an elementary education and the constant efforts of organized labor have united greatly to extend the public school system of all countries. Attendance has been made compulsory and a low percentage of illiteracy has become a matter of national pride.

The extension to the common man of a knowledge of the world in which he lives, with the consequent arousing of his interest in the affairs of the world and the demand to have a voice in the government, has been one of the most impor-

tant results of the Industrial Revolution. Along with education for the masses and democracy, however, there has come a constant increase in the complexity of the problems which modern governments have to face. Vast accumulations of capital,—corporations, trusts, holding companies,—reaching out into every field of life, with their great power for controlling public opinion and corrupting public officials, are often more powerful than the governments. Trust problems, labor problems, banking problems, railway problems, immigration problems, tariff problems, problems of foreign and colonial policy,—on all these the modern voter is supposed to have an opinion. So complex are the problems, so manifold are the distractions of modern life, so powerful and far-reaching are the elements working for special privilege that many are beginning to question whether democracy, as we understand it, can endure.

CONTINUANCE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Industrial Revolution is still going on. By this is meant not merely that machinery and factories are steadily being introduced into undeveloped parts of the world, such as China, Africa and parts of South America, but that in countries long industrialized, such as England, new inventions are continually being made, machines are being scrapped to be replaced by others more modern and efficient, industries are being brought together into larger and larger units, greater fortunes are being made. The production of steel, the basic material of the modern age, has been revolutionized by the Bessemer and open-hearth processes. Improvements in concrete have brought in a new era in the construction of buildings, bridges and highways. We cannot even list the new inventions or discoveries of new processes which have radically changed methods of manufacture.

Many of the new inventions have not only themselves made great changes in industry but have also, by making possible new comforts and luxuries, opened up a demand for goods

which great industries have developed to supply. Moving pictures, radios, electrical appliances and automobiles are illustrations. The invention of the gas engine by Otto, a German (1877), and its perfection by Selden, an American (1879), has not only brought to the fore an important new method of driving machinery but its application to the automobile has revolutionized transportation. The making of automobiles has become the greatest industry in the United States. In 1925 the United States produced new automobiles to the value of \$2,934,488,639, besides a half billion dollars' worth of parts. The General Motors Corporation made profits of \$129,000,000 for the first six months of 1927. The products of 31,000,000,000 gallons of crude petroleum were consumed in the United States in 1925 in the form of gasoline to drive its 19,000,000 motor cars, as fuel to generate steam to drive machinery, trains and steamships, and for other minor purposes. The immense demand for petroleum within the last twenty-five years has made "oil" one of the foremost industries and the rivalry between nations for oil fields has played a major part in recent diplomatic history.

The wonderful development of electricity within the last fifty years has not only furnished us with a source of power to drive machinery, street-cars and trains but has provided us with a host of devices to make life more comfortable. The utilization of water power to produce electric current has only begun. Engineers tell us that the transportation of coal long distances is most wasteful and that hundreds of millions of dollars could be saved annually by using the coal at the mine's mouth to generate electricity which could be sent far and wide, furnishing a cheap source of light, heat and power to private homes as well as to factories. "Giant power" surveys are being made in the United States, in Russia and other European countries to determine how the power resources may best be utilized. The twentieth century promises to be the century of electricity just as the nineteenth was the century of steam.

Two inventions, the radio and the aeroplane, are as yet too

new to make any prediction as to their effect on our lives of much use, but they have already gone far enough to make it safe to say that their effect is bound to be great. Indeed, who, with the vast changes of the past hundred years in mind, would dare to put a limit on those that will be made during the next hundred?

GREAT INVENTORS AND INVENTIONS

<i>Inventor</i>	<i>Invention</i>	<i>Date</i>
Kay	Flying shuttle	1738
Hargreaves	Spinning wheel	1764
Arkwright	Water frame	1769
Crompton	Spinning mule	1779
Cartwright	Power loom	1785
Whitney	Cotton gin	1793
Newcomen	Pumping engine	1711
Watt	Steam engine	1765
Fulton	Steam boat	1793
Trevithik	Locomotive	1808
Stephenson	Improved locomotive	1814
McCormick	Reaper	1844
Otto	Gas engine	1877
Selden	Gas engine (auto)	1878
Edison	Talking machine	1877
Edison	Incandescent lamp	1878
Marconi	Radio	1896
Wright brothers	Aeroplane	1903

CHAPTER VII

NATIONALISM AND REFORM

WE have told the story of the French Revolution with its reforms and its terror, the changes that it made in France and the new ideas it gave to the world. We have seen how Napoleon, posing as a revolutionist, spread these new ideas throughout Europe and how the ruling classes, frightened at the threat to their own privileges, combined to overthrow Napoleon. We have seen how the diplomats at the Congress of Vienna, each scheming to get a lion's share of the spoils for his own country, tried to undo the work of Napoleon and the Revolution; how they formed a conservative alliance to preserve what they had gained and keep down revolutionary ideas permanently. We have seen how the reactionary Metternich set up his system of repression and espionage in Austria and gradually extended it over Europe. We have seen the Quadruple Alliance crushing revolution in Italy and Spain. We have seen the apparent triumph of reaction everywhere,—in England, Russia, the Germanies, France, Italy and Spain.

It is difficult, however, to stamp out ideas by mere repression. The "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" of the French Revolution were kept alive by small groups of liberals and radicals whom censorship and oppression only drove into secret organizations. As the Industrial Revolution spread, new forces came to the aid of the revolutionary ideas. The bourgeoisie had been the most active opponents of the old regime and the main beneficiaries of the revolution. The growth of factories and the expansion of trade rapidly increased the numbers and the power of the bourgeoisie. In England, as we have seen, the growing power of the middle class forced a Tory government to withdraw from the Quadruple Alliance

when it threatened to interfere with English trade by restoring Spain's revolted colonies. In time the Industrial Revolution brought forth a still more powerful force to work for revolutionary ideas,—the working class. As the workers became class conscious they began to organize into trade unions and labor parties, to demand a place for themselves in the new scheme of things. From now on we find workers side by side with the bourgeoisie demanding reforms. We find them forcing the bourgeoisie to redefine and extend their revolutionary demands. In time we find them disputing with the bourgeoisie, by this time supreme everywhere, the right to control the government.

To the bourgeoisie liberty had meant in general the absence of autocratic government, the right of men of property to vote for representatives in parliament. Equality meant legal equality, the same law for the noble and the merchant, the priest and the layman. The workers began to assert that they, too, must have a voice in the government; universal suffrage replaced suffrage for taxpayers only. The workers began to declare that equality before the law was useless unless there was some degree of economic equality and equality of opportunity. Demands for free public schools and for laws to protect the workers mingled with demands for the abolition of the privileges of the clergy and nobility. The workers listened to declarations that all men of a country were members of a great brotherhood, took it seriously, and themselves began to take pride in their country and feel that they were an essential part of it.

Under the banners of democracy and nationalism the bourgeoisie and the workers combined to overthrow the reactionaries and wrest power from the landlords and clergy. We will trace the triumph of liberty and equality, ever widening in meaning, in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 and in the reform movements of the various countries. We will see nationalism rising everywhere,—leading Belgians to revolt from Holland, leading Italians to drive out the Austrians and form a national state, leading to the unification of Germany,

leading the Balkan nations to overthrow their Turkish oppressors. We will see nationalism, too, leading to jealousy and war, leading millions of workers to kill other millions for issues which they do not understand.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830

Let us recall that in 1824 in France Louis XVIII, who had retained many of the revolutionary changes and held the reactionaries in check, was succeeded by Charles X, the leader of the Ultras. Charlie was determined to restore the old regime. His minister, Polignac, boldly declared it to be his purpose "to reorganize society, to restore to the clergy their weight in state affairs, to create a powerful aristocracy and to surround it with privileges." The clergy were given control of higher education. In order to raise money to compensate the émigrés for the loss of their lands the interest on the public debt was lowered from five to three percent. This roused the opposition of the wealthy bourgeoisie, who held most of the bonds. A proposal to restore primogeniture aroused the fears of the peasants that a landed aristocracy was to be restored. Finally the king showed that he had no intention of respecting the constitution by issuing a series of ordinances without consulting parliament. These famous July ordinances (issued July 26, 1830) declared that the recently-elected Chamber of Deputies, which had not yet met, was dissolved, put into effect a new electoral law restricting the suffrage to large landholders, and suspended the freedom of the press.

All parties united in bitter opposition to these high-handed methods. Proclamations of protest were widely circulated. Rioting began. Paving stones in the streets of Paris were torn up to form barricades. The king went off on a vacation, comforting himself with the thought that his troops could easily crush the street fighting, but the revolting mob was soon in control of Paris and the king fled to England. Most of the fighting—the real work of the "July Revolution"—had been done by the students and the workingmen of

the cities. They desired a Republic, but they were unorganized and powerless. The wealthy bourgeoisie whom Charles X was trying to oust from power wanted a constitutional monarchy which they could control. They got it, for the provisional government selected as king a cousin of Charles X, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who had voted for the execution of Louis XVI in the Revolution, posed as a liberal and who subsequently delighted in calling himself the "citizen king." He was proclaimed "King of the French by the Grace of God and by the will of the people."

The July Revolution was a triumph for the middle classes. It was not a revolution which brought great benefits to the mass of the French people except in that it saved them from complete reaction and proved to the rulers of Europe that the principles of 1789 were not dead. The tri-color of the Revolution once again became the flag of the French. The new government repudiated the July ordinances, proclaimed that ministers would be responsible to the Chamber of Deputies and not to the king, restored freedom of the press, lowered the property qualifications for suffrage, and reduced the voting age to twenty-five. The voting population numbered about two hundred thousand out of a total population of about thirty million. In 1830 the mass of the people were not participants in the government. Their day was yet to come.

The July Revolution was an effective blow at Metternich's system; the French bourgeoisie had defied the hallowed principle of legitimacy which the Congress of Vienna had supposedly enshrined forever. To be consistent Metternich should have summoned his cohorts of reaction, invaded France, suppressed the revolution and brought back the unwelcome but legitimate Bourbon, Charles X. Louis Philippe, however, soon let it be known that it was not his intention to carry the Revolution of 1830 beyond the borders of France. Furthermore, the "July Revolution" served as a signal for revolts throughout Europe, and Metternich and his friends were too busy worrying about revolts in their own territories to intervene actively in France. In Hanover, Saxony and other Ger-

man states insurrectionists succeeded in obtaining constitutions, while others wrung a promise of liberal reform from their rulers. In Italy a revolt broke out in the Papal States aimed at the overthrow of Papal absolutism and bad government. The Dukes of Parma and Modena decided to sojourn in Austria until the storm blew over, which, with the help of Austrian troops, it soon did. The Revolution of 1830 in Italy and Germany accomplished little but it served to show that liberalism was not dead. In two parts of Europe other than France—Belgium and Poland—the revolutionary movement of 1830 is worthy of brief mention.

The Congress of Vienna had united Belgium to Holland, much to the disgust of a patriotic and intensely nationalistic group of Belgians. The Belgians were Catholic, largely industrial, and had a language of their own. The Dutch were Protestants and agricultural. A wise ruler might have taken note of these differences and so managed affairs as not to arouse the anger and resentment of the Belgians, but William I was not wise and tried to make his kingdom homogeneous by forcing Dutch laws, customs, language and officials upon the complaining Belgians. The Belgians with some right contended that their superior numbers,—about three millions to two,—entitled them to a share of the offices. Catholic Belgians were annoyed at having their educational institutions operated by Protestants. Many were alienated by laws against the freedom of the press. One great cause of complaint was the disproportionate amount of taxes that the Belgians had to pay. Unwise administration aggravated these causes of discontent so that when the news of the July Revolution in Paris reached Belgium the French methods were imitated. Barricades were thrown up in the streets, fighting ensued and a provisional government demanding Belgian independence was organized. The provisional government controlled, not by democratic republicans but by constitutional monarchists, chose Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as King of an independent Belgium.

The independence of Belgium was, however, a question of

international concern. England was sympathetic to Belgium's independence, for she has always been loathe to see a strong continental power possess the channel ports. Metternich was too busy in Italy to oppose it seriously and Louis Philippe, who owed his own throne to revolutionary upheaval, could not very well object. An international agreement was reached in 1831 by which Leopold I was recognized as King of Belgium. Holland was brought to terms by a naval blockade of her ports and the seizure of Antwerp. In 1839 Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria and Prussia guaranteed to respect the neutrality and independence of Belgium. It is this treaty which the German Empire, as the inheritor of Prussian obligations, violated in August, 1914, when it conveniently chose to regard it as a scrap of paper.

At the Congress of Vienna the well-meaning Czar Alexander had acquired the Duchy of Warsaw, part of ancient Poland. He did not bring it within the governmental organization of Russia but granted a constitution which allowed the Poles a considerable degree of local autonomy or home rule. But the Poles were not satisfied. They had a long tradition of national independence and they had bitter memories of centuries of suffering and hardship as pawns in the hands of greedy foreign monarchs, factors well calculated to develop a strong desire for self-determination. Czar Nicholas, who came to the throne in 1825, changed the policy of his predecessor and adopted repressive measures in Poland. The constitution was ignored. Soldiers were quartered in Poland. Russians were given all governmental offices. Polish resentment led to secret meetings urging revolt and independence. The news of the July Revolution in France provided the occasion for a violent uprising. There was gallant fighting from January to September, 1831, but the Poles were finally overwhelmed. The Czar inflicted severe punishment, banishing thousands, imprisoning and executing hundreds. The constitution was revoked, the Polish national flag suppressed. Poland became part of Russia, despotically ruled by the most absolute of European rulers.

The Revolution of 1830 was conspicuously successful in France and Belgium; it produced no tangible results in Poland, Italy or the Germanies. The chief importance of the revolutionary movement of 1830 was that it served notice that neither the spirit nor the ideas of the French Revolution were crushed.

REFORM IN ENGLAND

The effects of the July Revolution were felt even across the channel in England. We are already familiar with the abuses existing there,—restricted suffrage, rotten boroughs, large cities without representation in Parliament, wholesale corruption,—which made the picture which the philosophers had painted of England as a model government a mockery. Bad economic and social conditions emphasized the need for political reform. Demands for reform had been stilled when the excesses of the French Jacobins gave the reactionaries an excuse for condemning all change as a step toward Jacobinism. They soon began again, however, and grew more insistent as the bourgeoisie and the workers increased in strength.

More than any other person, perhaps, Jeremy Bentham (1748-1803) may be called the father of the new reform movement. He asserted that governments were instituted to secure the greatest good to the greatest number and that this principle should be the guide in criticizing any existing government. His general philosophy is called Utilitarianism because he adopted the general principle of utility in deciding the worth of any act. He advocated scientific legislation to improve existing conditions, and was the forerunner of a group of writers, prominent among them John Stuart Mill, who played an important part in the reforms of the next hundred years. He was also the inspiration of radical agitators such as Francis Place and William Cobbett and of reforming statesmen such as Peel and Lord Durham, all of whom we shall hear of again.

Social and economic abuses were attacked no less than political and the reformers became so insistent that the Conservative government in the twenties put through several reform measures, among them some reductions in the harsh penalties of the criminal code, the legalization of trade unions, and the removal of political disabilities from Dissenters and Catholics. Reform moved so slowly, however, through a Parliament controlled by ignorant and conservative landlords, that it seemed that reform of Parliament was a necessary preliminary to all other reform. All groups united, therefore, in the demand for parliamentary reform.

By 1830 agitation for reform had reached an acute stage. The king seemed friendly, but Wellington, the Conservative Prime Minister, was adamant, declaring that the existing system which secured a "preponderating influence for property and the landed interests was the best which could be devised by the wit of man." The Wellington ministry was forced to resign, however, and the Whigs, long out of power, came into office committed to reform. Earl Grey, the Prime Minister, intrusted the task of introducing the reform bill in the House of Commons to Lord John Russell. The bill was defeated. The Whig ministry appealed to the people in the general election and was returned in triumph. The bill was again introduced, passed by the House of Commons, but was defeated by the House of Lords. Feeling was intense, people threatened not to pay taxes until the bill was passed. Francis Place, a London tailor, urged the people to withdraw their bank deposits and thus start a financial panic. Placards were carried about the streets of London "To stop the Duke, go for gold." Grey appealed to the king to create a sufficient number of peers to insure the passage of the bill in the House of Lords, but the king had been alarmed at the probability of a revolution and refused. Grey and the Whig ministry resigned. Wellington, the Iron Duke, was called upon once again to lead the forces of reaction but saw that the task was hopeless and advised the king to recall Earl Grey.

The king gave Grey the promise to create the new peers; it was not necessary to carry out the threat, for the Lords surrendered and the bill became a law in July, 1832.

The "Great Reform Bill" did not establish a democracy in England. That, as we shall see, was slowly accomplished by a series of laws passed at different intervals, ending with the franchise bill of 1918. The bill was, however, an important first step. It put the middle class in power in England. It changed the distribution of the seats in the Commons. Fifty-six rotten boroughs lost their representation. In others the representation was reduced so that in all there were 143 seats to be distributed among the larger towns and boroughs. Industrial cities like Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield and Leeds had representation in Parliament for the first time. Property qualifications for voters were reduced in both counties and boroughs. About 230,000 more people were entitled to vote; or about one person out of every twenty-two could now vote instead of one out of every thirty-two. The property qualifications still excluded the mass of factory and agricultural laborers who had ignorantly clamored for the bill, thinking that it would give them some political power.

The real significance of the bill of 1832 may be summarized as follows: (1) It marked the beginning of the supremacy of the bourgeoisie in politics. (2) It established the important principle that in a crisis the House of Lords could be made to yield to popular demand. (3) It strengthened in England the powerful tradition of peaceful change; through the century England was able to carry through big reforms without the revolutionary upheavals that troubled continental Europe. (4) It made possible and inaugurated a series of reforms which expressed the new attitude toward vital problems.

The reforms introduced in the generation following 1832 cover a variety of subjects, social, economic, religious, political. Because it will be necessary to refer to many of them elsewhere, we can hardly do more at present than mention some of the important forward steps that were taken.

In 1835 the Municipal Reform Act was passed, remodelling the governments in most of the cities of England. Previously each city had been managed by a small council, which either chose its own successors or was elected by a very few privileged "freemen." In Portsmouth, for instance, there were 102 "freemen" out of 146,000 inhabitants; in Cambridge, 118 out of 20,000. The Reform Act prescribed a uniform government for all the larger boroughs and cities (London excepted). The government was to consist of a council, holding office for three years, elected by the rate payers (local taxes in England are called rates). The council chose a mayor and aldermen.

In 1833 a bill providing for the gradual abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire became law after considerable agitation by the great abolitionist, Witherspoon. In 1833 the first great Factory Act, limiting child-labor, was passed. In 1834, after a valuable report on pauperism had been submitted, the old poor laws were revised. Hitherto, the justices of the peace had collected rates in the parish to give relief to the aged and infirm and even to supplement the wages of able-bodied workers whose income fell below a certain standard. The new law prohibited aid to the able-bodied, for whom workhouses were set up, and divided the country into districts for the administration of the law. Although the law was severely criticized by the poor, its general results were good. It discouraged pauperism and was less burdensome to the taxpayer, which, of course, appealed to the middle-class rate-payers, who were responsible for it.

In 1833 England made the first appropriation of public funds for education. It was for \$100,000 and was to be distributed among the private schools conducted by religious bodies; it was some years before a state system of popular education was introduced. Under the influence of Richard Hill, Parliament in 1840 enacted a law providing for a uniform two-cent rate for carrying mail to any part of the United Kingdom—the so-called penny post. Formerly the charge had varied with the size and weight of the letter and

the distance it was carried. The result of the new law was a great increase in the use of the mails, which was of decided importance in promoting business. During the same period steps were taken to reform the prisons and the criminal law. In 1820 the death penalty had been abolished for the crime of stealing five shillings or more; gradually, under the influence of the humanitarian spirit of the age, the death penalty was abolished except for murder, piracy and treason. Better prisons were built and better treatment was given the prisoner.

These reforms were put through only after bitter opposition; they may seem inadequate to us of the twentieth century, but they mark the halting beginnings of that increasing mass of social legislation designed to improve the condition of all citizens. It was during this same period that the discontent and want of the masses led to the development first of utopian, and later of "scientific" socialism. It is the period of Robert Owen and his schemes for improved factory conditions, cooperative production, and communistic experiments. The history of the labor movement, together with labor legislation and the struggle for tariff reduction, will be told later.

Workingmen were not satisfied with the reform bill of 1832. Many had been imprisoned, others had been exiled for advocating a reform which enfranchised their employers but not themselves. They were angered at the new Poor Law which compelled many to labor in workhouses, the miserable conditions of which are vividly described in Dickens' *Oliver Twist*. The price of food was high and another sharp rise occurred in 1837. The feeling grew that the working classes could get relief only by being represented in Parliament. Copies of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights were circulated; popular pamphlets appeared expressing the popular discontent and demanding reform. Lord John Russell, however, declared the Bill of 1832 was "final." The workers drew up their demands in the form of a charter, of which the following six points are the most important: (1) Universal male suffrage; (2) a secret ballot; (3) the abolition of property qualifications for members of Parliament; (4) an annual

Parliament; (5) salary for members of Parliament; and (6) equal electoral districts.

The Chartist movement, as this demand for political reform came to be called, was poorly organized, lacked able leaders, and was distracted from its main purpose by the contemporary agitation, well organized and ably led, for the repeal of the corn laws with the promise of cheap bread. In 1839, and again in 1842, Parliament paid little attention to petitions demanding universal suffrage. Some of the leaders of the movement, angered by Parliament's attitude, began to advocate violence. This had the effect of alienating many, but the advocates of drastic action still struggled on. The news of the February Revolution of 1848 in France, coupled with high prices, spurred the Chartists on to a final effort. It was announced that a monster petition with five million names had been obtained; that a great army of citizens would parade to Parliament to present the petition; and there were broad hints of violence if Parliament refused to yield. Wellington was put in charge of the army and organized about 170,000 special constables (among them was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, later President and Emperor of France). On the appointed day a heavy downpour of rain spoiled the plans for the great demonstration; the petitions were hurried into five cabs and taken to Parliament. There it was found that the petitions contained about one-fifth of the boasted five million names, and many of these were obviously fictitious—Pym, Wellington, the Queen. The Chartist movement had become ridiculous and could not survive. Although it ended in a fiasco it had its effect on both the ruling classes and the people themselves. While England has been characteristically slow in making changes, today the whole Chartist program is an essential part of the British political system.

With the Chartist movement dead, the workers turned to trade unionism with renewed zeal. The growth of trade unions fostered the desire for reform and forced it upon the attention of both parties. In 1858 the Conservatives, under Disraeli's influence, passed a bill admitting Jews to Parliament

and another abolishing all property qualifications for members of Parliament. A bill introduced the following year providing for a limited extension of the suffrage and a redistribution of seats failed by a narrow margin.

Lord Palmerston, head of the Liberal ministry from 1859-1865, was no friend of reform, but at his death in 1865 two ardent reformers came into control, Earl Russell (who as Lord John Russell had sponsored the reform bill of 1832) as prime minister and Gladstone as leader of the House of Commons. In 1866 Gladstone introduced a bill which was too moderate to satisfy the radicals but too extreme to win the support of the old fashioned Liberals and consequently failed, leading to the resignation of the ministry. In the ensuing election the Conservatives were returned to power with Lord Derby as prime minister and Disraeli as leader of the House of Commons. Although there had apparently been but little interest in the bill before, its defeat caused great excitement. Indignation meetings were held, radical orators stirred up the crowds and the demand for reform became insistent. Disraeli was convinced that reform was bound to come and determined that his party should have the credit for it. Since most of the factory owners were Liberals between whom and the workers there was a division of economic interest, Disraeli hoped that by granting the workers the franchise he would win them over permanently to the Conservative party. Accordingly he introduced a bill in 1867 which, while originally moderate, was so amended as to make it much more far-reaching than the Liberal bill of the previous year before it was finally passed.

By the bill of 1867 the financial requirements for voters in the counties were materially reduced, but it was in the boroughs that the main change was made. Here the vote was given to all householders (instead of to those whose houses were of an annual value of ten pounds as provided in the bill of 1832) and also to lodgers who paid for unfurnished rooms as much as ten pounds a year. The general effect of the bill was to enfranchise the city workers, over 1,000,000 new

voters being added to the lists. The bill also slightly modified the distribution of parliamentary seats, fifty-two seats being taken from the smaller boroughs and given to the larger towns and counties. The act of 1867 applied to England and Wales only, but the next year a similar act was passed for Scotland and Ireland. With this enfranchisement of the bulk of city workers England may be said to have been well on the road to democracy.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

In 1848, the Metternichian system collapsed. For a third of a century the Austrian statesman had struggled to hold the forces of liberalism in check. But two powerful agencies—democracy and nationalism—were constantly at work undermining his system.

Quickening the seething undercurrent of revolt against tyranny and autocracy engendered by the French Revolution was the Industrial Revolution, which by the middle of the century had made considerable headway on the continent, particularly in France, in the Germanies, and Northern Italy. The overworked factory hands,—the industrial proletariat,—lifted their voices to demand a share in the government. Thus it was that the Industrial Revolution joined with the French Revolution to produce a lively nationalism and liberalism which, as we shall see, were the fundamental causes of the Revolution of 1848. The rights of man had been emphasized in the eighteenth century; the nineteenth was to emphasize the rights of nations and the rights of workers.

Before narrating the details of the revolutionary movement it will be well to call attention to certain general facts that seem to underlie all revolutions. They are produced by deep-seated wrongs, real or fancied. The outbreak comes when those who feel they have a grievance despair of peaceful accomplishment of their ends; it is not infrequently occasioned by some trivial incident. The advocates of revolution are the socially, politically and financially outcast,—those who are

trodden upon, those who feel they have something to gain by the success of the movement. The enemies of revolution are, for the most part, those who have arrived,—those who enjoy social, economic, political prestige and power, who may be in danger of losing their position or of sharing their control of affairs with others. They have everything to gain by keeping the social and political order as it is; they do not desire the equilibrium from which they benefit to be disturbed. They want political quiet, stability, order, law. Their nature and their position render them conservative. The successful radicals and revolutionists of one period may become the conservatives and defenders of an established order of another period.

It is well to note, furthermore, that long suffering and oppression do not of themselves seem to be sufficient to produce revolution; a virile discontent must accompany the suffering; a philosophy or set of principles is usually worked out to justify radical action. Intellectual leaders give shape and form to the misery and discontent, spread their propaganda and arouse the people to a frenzy of revolt. The mass of mankind seem indifferent to their lot, their misery, their suffering or even their good. There is a deal of wisdom in the dictum that "man is by nature a conservative animal," content with the world as he finds it; by a sort of herd instinct he follows the crowd. Determined leaders, however, adroit, calculating, can sway the crowd this way or that. Revolutions, then, are usually led by small determined groups arousing the masses to support their cause. Finally, it is important to note that the army, as representing force, is an important factor and usually the vital one in determining the success or failure of a given movement.

The revolution of 1848 convulsed Europe. Most of the monarchs either lost their thrones or granted liberal constitutions to their people. In England, as we have seen, there was renewed interest in the Chartist movement which ended in a fiasco; in Switzerland a new constitution was drawn up; in Belgium, the property qualifications for voting were reduced; in Holland, the king granted a liberal constitution. The

revolutionary fever for democracy was widespread, but we can best study it by confining our attention to the course of events in France, Prussia, Austria, and Italy.

The revolution began in France, where ever since 1789 there seems to have developed the tradition of revolution, and where it is not viewed with the same sort of horror that is general among English-speaking peoples. The July Monarchy, as Louis Philippe's government is called, the fruit of the revolution of 1830, satisfied the hopes and aspirations of the bourgeoisie, who now enjoyed power and influence. It had negated any possibility of the restoration of the old regime. It was an era of peace for France in which the bourgeoisie could take full advantage of the Industrial Revolution. Natural resources were developed, railways were built, manufacturing was protected, agriculture prospered. There was a colonial adventure in Algiers, but no foreign war disturbed the orderly quiet of the march toward prosperity. Guizot, historian, statesman and Louis Philippe's chief minister, summed up the new policy of the bourgeoisie government, "If France is prosperous, if she is free, rich, peaceful, and wise, we need not complain if we exercise only a small influence in the world abroad."

But the July Monarchy had several classes of opponents. The clergy were annoyed at their loss of power, and their exclusion from the educational system of France; they conducted an active campaign against the government, which, in retaliation, closed several Jesuit institutions. The opposition of the clergy had little effect upon the bourgeoisie, but it had great influence on the mass of the peasants, who were deeply religious. Under the influence of leaders like Frederic Ozanam and Chateaubriand the church developed a new vigor and showed some sympathy for liberal and democratic ideas. Many of the bourgeoisie themselves, recalling the past splendor of France, criticized Guizot's foreign policy as weak and cowardly. Opposition on this score became particularly bitter after the dismissal of Thiers, who was in favor of asserting a strong policy in foreign affairs. Furthermore, opposition

developed among the workingmen of the cities, who were coming under the influence of socialist doctrines, particularly those of Louis Blanc. They could easily claim that a government which allowed only 200,000 of the population to vote was scarcely democratic. Bad living and working conditions made the discontent of the workers all the more acute and dangerous. Leading the forces of discontent was a small group of ardent republicans, most of them intellectuals without property or social position, who were disappointed at the outcome of the revolution of 1830, which had been accomplished largely through their efforts. Quite different from these liberal elements of opposition were the small group of Bourbons and ultra-royalists who could always be counted upon to foment hatred and discord in the hope that somehow it would benefit them.

For a long time the clergy, the workingmen, the socialists and the republicans waged a campaign for reform. But the government of Louis Philippe, guided since 1840 by Guizot, who by bribery and corruption built up a system not unlike that of George III in England, was determined to crush liberalism. Associations unauthorized by the government were declared illegal; strict censorship of the press was established; socialists were aimed at by a law which prohibited attacks upon private property. By such measures Louis Philippe and Guizot gave warning that they would not tolerate reform. They could learn no lesson from other autocrats who had answered legitimate demands by repression.

Despite setbacks the liberals carried on their propaganda. One of their schemes was to hold "reform" banquets in different parts of the country to work up sympathy for their cause. In these banquets moderate reformers were sometimes joined by radical socialists. The government decided to prevent such a reform banquet scheduled to be held in Paris on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1848. The crowds which gathered around the banquet hall refused to be dispersed by the police. The National Guard was called out but speedily joined the mob in crying—"Down with Guizot." In the

workingmen's section, the streets were barricaded. The King promised to dismiss Guizot, summon a new ministry and undertake reforms. But it was too late. From behind their barricades the workingmen were shouting "Long live the Republic." With great prudence, Louis Philippe abdicated in favor of his grandson and as plain Mr. Smith started for England.

A provisional government was established and a constitution drafted which provided for a president to be elected for a four-year term by universal suffrage. Elections were held in December and the French chose as President of the Second French Republic Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon I and son of Louis Bonaparte, one-time king of Holland. A further description of events in France will be postponed until we examine the revolution of 1848 in other parts of Europe.

Nowhere did the news of the February Revolution produce such an upheaval as in the Austrian realms, where for nearly a third of a century Metternich had made his name synonymous with tyranny and oppression. It will be recalled that there was no racial unity in the Hapsburg empire. There were four main "races"—(1) the Germans, centering around Vienna and inhabiting Austria proper; (2) the Magyars, inhabiting Hungary, who years before had wedged themselves in between different Slavic groups; (3) the Italians, of northern Italy and along the Adriatic shore line, and (4) the Slavs, to the north and south of Austria and Hungary. Of these there were numerous branches, each struggling for independence. In Bohemia and Moravia were the Czechs; eastward were the Slovaks. (These two racial strains have combined to form the present day republic of Czechoslovakia.) Northeastward along the Russian border were the Poles; to the southeast along the Adriatic coast were Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, commonly referred to as Jugo or south Slavs, because separated from the northern Slavic tribes by Hungary. (These races have combined to form the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, or, as it is more commonly called,

the Kingdom of Jugo-Slavia.) At the eastern extremity of the empire, in Transylvania, were the Roumanians (this region was assigned to Roumania at the end of the World War).

When the news of the February Revolution came Metternich fled and the helpless Emperor summoned a new ministry and promised a constitution. The revolution was contagious, —it affected the small principalities as well as the large. Throughout the empire went up the loud cry for democratic reform. In the first feverish days of the revolution the frightened rulers everywhere, as in Austria proper, acquiesced, promised reform, granted constitutions, convoked parliaments and appointed liberal ministries.

What was true of the Austrian empire was also true of the Germanic states outside the empire, and of Italy. Rioting and street fighting in Berlin forced Frederick William IV to appoint a liberal ministry, call the Prussian Diet, and agree to a constitution for Prussia. National sentiment was so strong that a constitutional convention was called to draft a constitution for a united Germany, which because of its meeting place is commonly called the Frankfort Assembly. In Italy, Venetia became a republic; in Piedmont, Tuscany, Naples and the Papal States the rulers were forced to grant constitutions.

Thus it was the revolutionary movement swept on. In the first few months it was a liberalizing movement, but as the revolutionists became enamored of success the more radical began to struggle for the complete overthrow of monarchy and the establishment of republics. Reaction set in and received the greatest help from the divisions among the revolutionists themselves, for not only did they begin to disagree as to the extent to which various reforms should be carried, but they quarrelled as to whether they should first secure democracy or separate national existence. In short, nationalism came into conflict with democracy and the old order profited by the dissension.

In the revolutions in Hungary, Bohemia, Lombardy, Venetia, and Sardinia, the nationalist principle—the desire to throw

off foreign domination—seemed to predominate. The leader of the reform and nationalist movement in Hungary was the patriotic Louis Kossuth (1802-1894). Kossuth conducted his reform propaganda as a newspaper editor. When the government forbade the printing of his articles he tried to evade the law by lithographing them, and when this was forbidden he had them written out by hand by a staff of clerks. He was sent to prison, where for three years he devoted his time to mastering the English language. Upon his release in 1840 he renewed his newspaper campaign to arouse public opinion. His program included taxation of the nobles, liberty of press, speech and assembly, the separation of Hungary from Austria, and the control of taxes by the Diet. It was a bitter speech of Kossuth's in the Diet that immediately led to the March Revolution in Vienna. By a series of laws enacted by the Hungarian Diet, the reforms advocated by Kossuth became law. The "March laws" also called for a Hungarian ministry free from Austrian control. In Bohemia and elsewhere, where similar reform enthusiasm and national sentiment had been aroused, the bewildered emperor was forced to yield.

The course of events in the Italian possessions of the Hapsburgs was not much different. The most important fact of the Italian revolutions, however, was that Charles Albert, King of Sardinia-Piedmont, granted his people a liberal constitution and with an army of twenty-three thousand placed himself at the head of the revolutionary movement and proceeded to drive the Austrians out of Italy in a "War of Liberation." There was a tremendous outburst of Italian patriotism. It seemed that the time was opportune for Italy to throw off the yoke of the hated Austria and to organize itself into a free federation of independent states. But jealousies and dissensions wrecked the patriotic cause. Some states withdrew from the enterprise and Charles Albert with his poorly organized forces was decisively defeated by the Austrians under Radetzky at Custozza (July, 1848). A great obstacle in the path of Charles Albert was the feeling of the ardent republicans that Italy should have nothing to do with

a constitutional monarchy. Republicanism with many was stronger than nationalism. The people of Florence and Rome overthrew their rulers. Weakened by divided interests, Charles Albert was defeated a second time (Novara, March, 1849). Disheartened, he abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel. Although Italy failed to secure unity and independence in 1848 and 1849, the House of Savoy won a glorious reputation. Charles Albert, who died a few months after his abdication, was revered as a martyr; his son, Victor Emmanuel, proved to be an enlightened monarch who retained the constitution his father promulgated and who ere long achieved for the House of Savoy the kingship of a united Italy.

Meanwhile the revolution began to collapse elsewhere. Racial rivalries and differences among the revolutionaries greatly aided the armed forces of the Emperor. The process of dissolution can easily be traced in Bohemia and Hungary. In the first flush of enthusiasm both German and Czech worked toward a common goal in Bohemia. But gradually racial animosities began to assert themselves. Street fighting broke out between Germans and Czechs. Count Windischgratz, an autocratic Bohemian noble, took advantage of the situation. The Austrian army bombarded the city of Prague, established order by means of martial law, and the revolution in Bohemia came to an inglorious end.

Similar divisions developed in Austria, and Windischgratz, man of the hour, marched his troops to Vienna, entered the city and inflicted severe punishment on the people. The weak king abdicated in favor of his nephew, Franz Joseph. A new ministry headed by the reactionary Schwarzenburg, a second Metternich, was formed. In Hungary practical independence had been secured. Success awakened the slumbering national enthusiasm of the great Slavic races, the Serbs and Croats, to whom the Magyars, now as in the past, showed little consideration. Encouraged by dissensions between Magyars and Slavs, Windischgratz, fresh from his success in crushing revolution in Bohemia and Austria, invaded Hungary. The Hungarians put up a stout resistance, declaring their

independence from Austria. But the Czar of Russia sent an army of 115,000 to help Austria and the Hungarians were forced to yield. Harsh was the treatment of the revolutionists. Imprisonment, hanging and exile were the fate of thousands. Kossuth escaped to the United States, received a remarkable ovation in New York, and was given the privilege of addressing the United States Senate. He spent the remainder of his life in England and Italy, where he died in 1894. Although his co-worker, Francis Deák, finally obtained autonomy for the Hungarians in 1867 (see p. 221), Kossuth refused to return to his native country. He was the leader of a revolution that failed.

In the midst of these revolutions and counter revolutions the Frankfort Assembly was trying to frame a constitution for a united Germany. The task before it was not unlike that of the Federal Convention of 1787 in Philadelphia which framed the Constitution of the United States. Both faced the problem of welding separate and discordant states into a federal unit. This effort to unite the Germanic peoples, at the same time with the attempt to create a nation based on democratic principles, illustrates the two great characteristics of the century,—nationalism and democracy. Because the members of the Assembly could not agree upon fundamental questions they wasted weeks in discussing and formulating a declaration of the rights of the German citizen. Weeks turned into months and by the time the constitution was fully drafted the force of the revolutionary movement had spent itself and Austria was slowly putting its house in order.

The Frankfort Assembly decided that the new German state would have the same boundaries as the Old German Confederation,—this would exclude a large part of Austria's territories. Inasmuch as Austria wanted all of her territories included within the new state she began to manifest her displeasure with the work of the Assembly. Another important question that the Assembly had to face was that of the executive power. It was finally decided that it should be vested in an hereditary monarch, and a committee was dispatched to

request the king of Prussia to become the hereditary Emperor of the new Germany. But the weak Frederick William IV of Prussia made "the great refusal." He felt that the offer of the crown should come from his equals, the princes of Germany, and not from a revolutionary assembly. It is probable that his chief reason for refusing to lead a united Germany was the fact that it would undoubtedly have meant war with Austria, who could rely upon Russia for help.

Although about twenty-eight of the smaller states had agreed to accept the constitution of the Frankfort Assembly, the opposition of Austria and Prussia made its success impossible. Disappointment was bitter, for the Germans had expected much. Many of the more radical engaged in a fruitless attempt to establish a republic. Many leaders were forced into exile, large numbers of German republicans, among them Carl Schurz, migrating to the United States. The Prussian king who thus blasted the hopes of the nationalist cause attempted to unite under his leadership all the purely Germanic states, excluding Austria. But Austria, having settled her troubles in Hungary, informed the Prussian king that she would not tolerate such a plan. Prussia gave in—an act referred to as the humiliation of Olmutz—and accepted Austria's demand that the old German Confederation of 1815, superseded in 1848, should be revived. Austria again triumphed.

Thus in a few years the revolutionary movement of 1848 spent itself. There was little of definite accomplishment. The Hungarians had been forced back into their old position; the Italians had not achieved unity, and the Frankfort Assembly had failed to make Germany a nation. Nationalist sentiment had received a setback; but we shall see that, within a generation, Hungary was to obtain a coequal share in the affairs of the government of Austria-Hungary (1867); the king of Sardinia-Piedmont was to become King of a united Italy, and Prussia was to avenge the humiliation of Olmutz by expelling Austria from the German Confederation and creating a Ger-

man Empire under Prussian hegemony. In defeat the spirit of nationalism began to find itself.

Democracy made more immediate gains, but they were small compared with the early promise of great success. Many reforms proved to be lasting; changes in administration tending toward greater centralization, reforms in the taxing system in the direction of greater equality, the abolition of feudal dues and services,—all these were permanent achievements. The larger demands of liberal reformers were, however, brushed aside by a new conservatism. The constitutions that frightened monarchs had hastened to grant were for the most part revoked. In Switzerland, Holland and Denmark, however, constitutional government had been secured; Sardinia-Piedmont obtained a liberal constitution which was to become the model of the united kingdom of Italy; in Prussia a constitution was established, which without substantial change remained the government of Prussia till 1918.

After forcibly breaking up the Berlin Assembly, which was attempting to draft a constitution for Prussia, the king ordered a committee of conservatives to draw up a constitution which, after many changes, he promulgated as the law of the land in June, 1850. This Prussian constitution provided for two legislative branches—the upper house, for the most part, being appointed by the king, and the lower chosen by what is called the three-class system of election. Beginning with the largest tax-payers, those who paid one-third of the taxes were allowed to choose one-third of the electors; in this class would be found the wealthy landowners, who were thus given representation out of all proportion to their numerical strength. Those who paid a second third were allowed to choose one-third of the electors; in this group were the small landowner, the merchant, business man and banker, the well-to-do middle class, who also had a voting strength disproportionate to their number. Finally the mass of artisans, peasants, factory workers, who paid the last third of the taxes were allowed to choose one-third of the electors. The

king was declared to rule by divine right; the ministry was responsible to him, not to the legislature. It was a government of the privileged land-owning nobility (the Junkers) and the wealthy bourgeoisie.

If we ask ourselves why the revolution of 1848 produced such slight results we will probably find the answer in the clash of liberalism and rival national interests, each defeating the other and also, probably, in the fact that the various programs of action were not sufficiently clear or well defined to arouse a widespread appeal. The philosophy of liberalism and nationalism had not as yet been sufficiently digested for mass action, nor had the forces creating those philosophies been sufficiently long at work to produce greater results. The failure of liberalism to establish itself as a guiding principle in 1848 practically meant that some other means than revolution would have to be adopted. The period from 1850 to 1918 is, for the most part, free from liberal or democratic revolution, while at the same time it is a period of the tardy and gradual recognition by peaceful means of the demands of 1848.

THE SECOND FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE

In February, 1848, as we have seen, an uprising in Paris forced Louis Philippe to flee to England. In the provisional government that was established there were two strong opposing factions who had made possible the revolution and who now disagreed radically as to the course it should take,—the bourgeois republicans and the workingmen.

The leader of the workers was Louis Blanc. He is usually called a socialist, but we should remember that present-day socialism is a much more elaborate philosophy of society than that which Blanc had worked out. Starting from the premise that every man had a right to work, Blanc concluded that it was the duty of the state to provide work for all. The government should furnish the necessary capital to start national

workshops, controlled by the workingmen, who would divide the profits among themselves. He had many enthusiastic adherents, but there was no well organized party of workers, and no carefully thought out plan for establishing the national workshops.

When the revolution broke out both factions proclaimed a republic, the workers setting up their government at the *Hotel de Ville* and choosing the red flag of socialism, while the republicans at the *Palais Bourbon* adopted the tricolor. Although the workers had been of incalculable aid in the overthrow of the old government, the bourgeoisie had no use for their theories of social and economic equality. They were too powerful to be ignored, however, so a fusion of the two governments was made and the establishment of national workshops was ordered. These so-called national workshops had little resemblance to those planned by Louis Blanc. The government merely employed about 100,000 men,—skilled artisans, unskilled laborers and tramps together,—at digging trenches and building fortifications. Moreover, the ministers in charge were bitter opponents of Louis Blanc and determined that the plan should fail. The “workshops” gave work to the unemployed, kept the restless mob quiet, and kept the socialist leaders busy with plans and so out of touch with the course of events. They thus fulfilled the function for which the bourgeoisie intended them.

Early in May the provisional government gave way to a Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage. There were few socialists in the Constituent Assembly—the majority were bourgeois republicans. One of its first acts was to abolish the “national workshops” which consumed the public money and increased the taxes. The workingmen determined to resist. Once more the pavements were torn up to build barricades. The Assembly gave General Cavaignac full power to crush the insurrection of the working classes. For three days (June 24, 25, 26), “the terrible June days,” Paris witnessed some of the bloodiest street fighting in its history. But the bourgeoisie triumphed; about 4,000 revolutionaries were

exiled, some were shot, others imprisoned. The memories of the terrible June days lingered long. The Parisian working-men became the bitter enemies of the bourgeoisie republic—while among the peasants, as well as among the merchant shopkeepers and bankers, there was a strengthening of conservatism. We shall later see that this heritage produced important results.

After thus disposing of the working classes, the Constituent Assembly proceeded to adopt a constitution for the Second French Republic. It provided for a president elected for four years by universal suffrage and a legislature similarly chosen. This legislature was to appoint a council of state, but the President was given the power to appoint a cabinet.

The Presidential elections took place in December, 1848. Ledru-Rollin was the candidate of the labor party and General Cavaignac of the republicans. These candidates together received less than one million and a half votes; the election went to a candidate who received five and a half million on the strength of his name,—Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of the first Napoleon and the son of Louis Bonaparte, whom Napoleon I had made King of Holland.

Louis Napoleon was forty years old at the time of his election. At the time of his uncle's downfall his family had been forced into exile and lived in Germany and Switzerland. His mother instilled into his youthful mind the idea that he was like his uncle, a man of destiny, that one with his name was bound to accomplish great things. He cherished these dreams of future greatness and after the death of Napoleon's son in 1832 he claimed to be the direct heir to the imperial throne. His life was a series of adventures. In Italy he joined the secret revolutionary society of the *Carbonari* and took part in an insurrection in 1831. In 1836 he attempted to provoke an uprising in the army, but was captured and released on the promise that he would emigrate to America. In 1839 he published a book, "Napoleonic Ideas," in which he contended that the first Napoleon had been a great champion of the people whom the despots of Europe had prevented

from accomplishing his task. He thus fostered the growing Napoleonic "legend." Thiers, too, had written a history on *The Consulate and the Empire* which greatly praised the first Napoleon, and in 1840 the remains of Napoleon were brought to France and buried with pomp and ceremony on the banks of the Seine. Soon Napoleon thought the time opportune for another uprising and he appeared in Boulogne with a few followers. He was captured and imprisoned in a French fortress, but after six years escaped and made his home in England until the events of 1848 called him to France. But the republicans objected to his presence in France, so he discreetly withdrew for a few months, went back to England, where he helped Wellington suppress the Chartist uprising. He was absent from France during the terrible struggle between the working classes and the bourgeoisie, and his support of Wellington caused the French bourgeoisie to believe that he was not dangerously radical.

Louis Napoleon was not radical. He was one of the cleverest politicians of the nineteenth century. He was anxious to win the imperial title and he used the period of the presidency to consolidate his strength. He courted the favor of the army. He won the support of the clergy and large numbers of the peasantry by aiding the Pope to return to Rome (1849) and by a new educational law (1850) which virtually re-established clerical control over the schools. The workingmen were lulled into an attitude of non-resistance by honeyed phrases and humanitarian sentiments that adorned his speeches. The bourgeoisie and the peasantry gave him their wholehearted support because he promised an era of peace and prosperity. His presidency was a period of great industrial activity and expanding business enterprise. The President put himself forward as the foster father of this prosperity and when people reflected upon the chaos of 1848 they were glad that they had such a champion of law and order.

The deputies elected to the Legislative Assembly were overwhelmingly conservative, the majority of them being in favor of a monarchy. The temper of the legislature is illustrated by

the way in which the President won support for the suppression of republican newspapers and the prohibition of republican meetings. A new electoral law, that only those might vote whose names appeared in the tax list for three successive years, deprived three million workingmen of the franchise. The constitution provided that the President's term of office was for four years and that he could not be reelected. Napoleon tried to have the Legislature modify the constitution so that the President could be reelected and, although a majority voted for the measure, it did not secure the three-fourths vote called for by the constitution.

The President therefore decided to use illegal means to bring about an extension of his powers. He proposed to the Assembly that they repeal the electoral law and restore universal suffrage. On the morning of December 2, 1851, republican and Orleanist leaders were imprisoned. Soldiers were placed in the legislative chambers. Placards about the city proclaimed the dissolution of the Assembly, the reestablishment of universal suffrage, and the order for a new election. In executing this *coup d'état* of December, 1851, Napoleon posed as the champion of democracy and universal suffrage against a reactionary assembly. His action was necessary "to preserve the republic and save the country." He suggested that the constitution be changed to extend the President's term of office to ten years and make the cabinet responsible to him. He asked the people, by means of a plebiscite, to grant him power to adopt a constitution containing these provisions. Seven million, seven hundred and fifty thousand Frenchmen voted yes and about 600,000 voted no. There was a little bloodshed, but for the most part the *coup d'état* was a quiet affair. None the less, Napoleon pursued his enemies relentlessly. About 100,000 were arrested and 1,500 were exiled or, like the great novelist, Victor Hugo, fled; about 10,000 were deported to Algiers. The republican party was crushed.

In January, 1852, Louis published the new constitution. It practically made him dictator of France. The legislature

was to be elected by popular vote, but it could not initiate legislation nor was the ministry responsible to it. Real power was vested in the president, elected for ten years by popular suffrage; the ministry was appointed by him and was responsible to him; he had the right to appoint innumerable local officials; he could make war and peace. A carefully selected Council of State and Senate could adopt bills and revise the laws. Just as the constitution of the Consulate introduced by the first Napoleon after his *coup d'état* in 1799 gave him supreme control, so his nephew fifty years afterwards imitated him; but Louis Napoleon did not wait four years to take the imperial title.

He had his effigy placed upon the coins and made an elaborate tour of the country to test out popular sentiment. He was careful to take along with him a loyal retinue who at the right moment would start the cheering, "Long live the Emperor." The subservient Senate submitted to a vote of the people the question as to whether or not the Empire should be restored. By an overwhelming vote (about 8,000,000 yeas to 250,000 nays) they approved the change. On December 2, 1852, just one year after his *coup d'état*, the Second French Republic was transformed into the Second French Empire, and President Louis Napoleon became Napoleon III, Emperor of the French. He called himself Napoleon III, maintaining the fiction that Napoleon's son had succeeded him as Napoleon II and that after his death in 1832 Louis Napoleon had been the legitimate ruler.

The Second French Empire lasted from 1852 to 1870. The eighteen years of the reign of Napoleon III is divisible into two periods. From 1852-1860, Napoleon ruled despotically. He selected official candidates for office whose election expenses were paid by the State; he exercised a rigid censorship of the press, a most reactionary law making it easy for him to jail or exile those who criticized him; all teaching in schools and universities was under strict censorship; he had complete control of the administrative system. This despotism was based on the fiction of universal suffrage. Napoleon III

was popular. At home there was prosperity. Abroad French armies were victorious and colonial ventures successful. After 1860, however, Napoleon III was forced to make concessions and the empire became somewhat liberal. Factions appeared; he lost his influence with the clerical party and the bourgeoisie disliked the adoption of free trade; his foreign wars were not so successful and the empire collapsed when the French armies were decisively routed in the Franco-Prussian War.

The period of the Second French Empire was a period of great industrial expansion. Great public works which provided employment for many men were undertaken; harbors and roads were improved; corporations were organized in large numbers; steamship companies were subsidized, and encouragement was given to railroad construction, about 8,000 miles of new railways being built. The foreign commerce of France multiplied threefold; steel production was ten times greater in 1869 than twenty years before; about three times as much coal was produced in 1870 as in 1850. Paris was rebuilt and beautified. It became the mecca of travellers and amusement seekers. Thousands flocked to Paris in 1855 and again in 1867 to witness the world's fair and exhibitions of French art and industry.

Napoleon's successful colonial ventures strengthened him still more with the bourgeoisie, who profited from the new markets for goods and capital which were opened up. The conquest of Algiers, begun by Louis Philippe, was completed; islands in the Pacific were occupied; commercial concessions were acquired in China; and a protectorate established in Anam and Cochin China, later to become French Indo-China.

Besides the enthusiastic support of the bourgeoisie, Napoleon, for the first part of his reign, had that of the Catholic Church, which he continued to shower with special favors. He also pretended a great interest in the workingmen. Hospitals and asylums were liberally endowed; the government subsidized accident and sickness insurance societies; cooperative societies were legalized and trade unions partially so; the

right of workers to strike was recognized. Napoleon loved to be called the "Emperor of the workingmen."

While large groups of the population were thus led to support Napoleon, there was always an undercurrent of opposition, led by liberal republicans, because of his aristocratic methods. In spite of continued prosperity this opposition grew. His policy of lowering tariff rates, culminating in the Cobden treaty with England (1860) providing for mutual reductions, lost him the support of powerful groups among the bourgeoisie. It was his foreign policy, however, that weakened his hold upon various groups, one after another, and finally led to his downfall.

Napoleon had proclaimed, "The Empire means peace," "France longs for peace and if France is satisfied the world is tranquil." The first part of his reign coincided with the close of the long period of peace which Europe had enjoyed since 1815, but in the closing years of the Empire there were several important wars, in each of which Napoleon played a decreasingly glorious part. Napoleon's great weakness was that he could never forget that he was his uncle's nephew. He dreamed of conquests which would make his Empire rival that of the first Napoleon. Then, too, he realized that he was a usurper and felt that he must continually be doing something spectacular to quiet opposition.

In pursuit of her century-long ambition to acquire Constantinople, Russia, in 1853, began war on Turkey,—the Crimean War. England, for reasons of her own, joined Turkey. Napoleon disliked the Russian Czar, who had been slow to welcome him into the family of European sovereigns. Moreover, he desired to strengthen his hold on the French Catholics by posing as the protector of the Roman Catholics in the Sultan's dominions. Accordingly he joined England and the alliance against Russia was completed by the entrance of Piedmont, anxious for prestige as a European power. Russia was defeated. France gained nothing directly, but the peace congress was held at Paris and Napoleon pictured him-

self as a great international figure, the arbiter of the affairs of Europe.

Cavour, the shrewd Piedmontese statesman, wanted an ally in the war which he was planning against Austria. Playing on Napoleon's vanity he won his promise of support. Napoleon saw a chance to pose as the defender of a small oppressed nation and dreamed of a federated Italy under the presidency of the Pope with himself as protector. The allies were successful in the war, which began in 1859, but after three months of fighting Napoleon suddenly withdrew, leaving Piedmont in the lurch, but acquiring Savoy and Nice for France. In spite of the addition of this much-desired territory the War of 1859 definitely marked the turn in Napoleon's fortunes. The Catholics had opposed the Italian alliance from the first because they saw in an united Italy a threat to the temporal power of the Pope. The liberals were disgusted with Napoleon's desertion of the cause of Italian nationalism at a critical moment. Nationalists felt that he had missed a chance to add to the glories of France. Liberals and nationalists blamed him for not completing the war; the Catholics blamed him for starting it.

In an effort to conciliate all factions Napoleon planned a coup which he hoped would be the beginning of a great French Empire in the western hemisphere. Mexico was in revolution. Napoleon arranged with England and Spain a joint expedition (1862) to force the payment of Mexico's debts to European creditors. A satisfactory arrangement was soon made and the other nations withdrew but the French troops remained. Maximilian of Austria was persuaded to be Napoleon's tool and was set up as Emperor of Mexico by French troops. The United States, engrossed in the Civil War, had been obliged to look on, but in 1865, with the war over and a million men under arms, the United States reasserted the Monroe Doctrine and requested the withdrawal of the French troops. Napoleon bowed to the inevitable and withdrew, leaving Maximilian to his fate,—to be shot by Mexican republicans.

The Mexican expedition was a fiasco. It cost heavily in men and money, and the absence of large numbers of French troops prevented Napoleon from seizing an opportunity to intervene on the side of nationalism and democracy in the Polish insurrection of 1863,—a course which would have appealed to French liberals and Catholics alike. Criticism of the Emperor became open and bitter. In 1860 Napoleon had made some feeble attempts at liberalizing the government—greater freedom of speech in parliament and outside was granted—but this liberalization only made his opponents more bold. His failure to gain anything for France out of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 added new fuel to the fires of criticism.

As we shall see later, Bismarck, now in control of Prussian affairs, was engaged in building a strong German state with Prussia at its head. In pursuit of this aim he manoeuvred Austria into a declaration of war on Prussia in 1866. Most of the smaller German states joined Austria; the newly-created kingdom of Italy allied itself with Prussia. Napoleon, thinking that this would be a long drawn out war, decided to remain neutral and step in as a last minute arbitrator, thereby gaining territory and prestige for France. Prussia's well-drilled armies crushed Austria at the battle of Sadowa in less than a month. Napoleon frantically besought Bismarck for "compensations." Bismarck completely outwitted him, using his proposals for compensations to expose him as a greedy imperialist to the other nations of Europe and to bind the south German states more closely to Prussia. Prussia at the head of the new North German Confederation, with the strongest army in Europe, had displaced France as the leading continental power. French jingoists set up the cry, "Revenge for Sadowa,"—meaning that France must secure territory to offset Prussia's gains. Napoleon was blamed for all of France's woes. His star was rapidly waning.

In a last attempt to stem the tide of opposition Napoleon consented to important changes in the constitution. The ministry was to be responsible to the legislature; the Emperor

lost the power to control elections by making official nominations; the press was to be free from restrictions. The new constitution was approved by a plebiscite in May, 1870, but before it had a chance to prove its value France was plunged into a war with Prussia.

Bismarck desired a war with France in order to rouse German nationalism and complete German unification. French patriots were anxious for war in order to regain prestige lost by Prussia's rapid rise. With both countries looking for trouble an excuse was bound to be found. It came in the dispute over the succession to the Spanish throne. The vacant throne had been offered to Leopold of Hohenzollern, a relative of the Prussian king, but he had refused. Bismarck, whose keen mind saw possibilities in the situation, succeeded in getting the Spanish Cortes to renew the offer. This time, acting under instructions, Leopold dallied with the offer. Napoleon, fearing the possible union of the thrones of Spain and Prussia, threatened war if Leopold did not reject the offer. He did so. Flushed with this diplomatic victory, Napoleon determined to press the issue still further and instructed his ambassador to demand that the Prussian king should promise that never in the future would a Hohenzollern become a candidate for the Spanish throne. The king of Prussia refused and sent an account of the interview between himself and the French ambassador to Bismarck. After learning from von Moltke and von Roon that the Prussian army was ready, Bismarck so edited the telegram that a German would think the French ambassador had insulted the king and a Frenchman would think that the Prussian king had insulted their ambassador. Later Bismarck boasted that he intended the Ems dispatch, as the altered telegram is known, to act as a red flag to the Gallic Bull. It produced the desired effect. Napoleon decided on war and with but a few opposing votes the French parliament declared war. Once again Bismarck appeared to be fighting a defensive war. The south German states, on whose support Napoleon had counted, fired with patriotic fervor, fought on the side of Prussia.

The war showed the inherent inefficiency and corruption of Napoleon's regime. The French army, poorly drilled, poorly equipped and poorly led, was no match for the smooth-running military machine of Prussia. Within two months the main French army was completely crushed at Sedan; 17,000 were killed and over 100,000 taken prisoners, among them Napoleon himself. When the news reached Paris a group of republicans, led by Gambetta, proclaimed the Third French Republic and appointed a provisional government to carry on the war.

The results of the war, so important to all of Europe, will be taken up in connection with the story of the unification of Italy and Germany, to which we now turn.

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Metternich described the Italy of the Congress of Vienna in the famous phrase,—“a geographical expression.” Italy in 1815 was in fact merely a term that geographers applied to the peninsula jutting boot-shaped from the Alps into the Mediterranean. If we examine the map we will note the following territorial divisions of the peninsula: (1) In the north-west, the kingdom of Piedmont, which because it also owned the large island of Sardinia in the Mediterranean was often called the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont or simply Sardinia. (2) In the north central and eastern portion were the states of Lombardy and Venetia, parts of the Austrian Empire. (3) South of these states were the Duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, ruled over by Austrian princes. (4) In the center of the peninsula were the States of the Church, embracing Romagna, the Marches, Umbria and Rome, ruled over by the Pope as temporal ruler. (5) In the south was the large kingdom of the Two Sicilies, ruled by a Bourbon under Austrian protection. With the exception of the kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont and the Papal States all Italy was directly or indirectly under foreign control.

Italy had a proud past. It had been the seat of ancient

Rome's imperial grandeur and the center of the great international Christian Church of the Middle Ages. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries the Mediterranean had been the chief trade route between east and west; the towns of Italy, Florence, Milan, Venice, Genoa, famous for their wealth, their art, their scholarship, were in the front rank of European cities. The names of Dante, Petrarch and Michael Angelo enriched the glory of medieval Italy, which, as we have seen, was the font of the Renaissance movement.

But Italy was never united. Since the time of the barbaric invasions no one tribe or ruler had been able to gain complete control of the entire peninsula. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when France, England and Spain were being built up as strong national states, the wealthy city-states were jealously struggling among themselves. An intense local patriotism existed, and Italy was a prey to foreign intervention. Spaniards, French and Austrians struggled for control; weak and disunited Italy had to submit to foreign domination. When the discovery of a new world and the route around Africa robbed the Mediterranean of its importance Italy rapidly declined. Its wealth was gone and the glories of the Renaissance vanished while foreign greed and internecine strife completed the ruin. Italy was ruled by petty despots who ignored the poverty and ignorance of the mass of the people. Italy's patriots could only glory in a wondrous past.

One important factor which explains the absence of a united Italy from among the family of nations and which was to prove a serious obstacle in the nation-building movement of the nineteenth century was the fact that lodged in the center of Italy, in eternal Rome, was the Papacy. From the days of Pipin in the eighth century the Papacy claimed as its own the central portion of Italy. The Popes claimed that this temporal jurisdiction, as it is called, was necessary to insure its independence of action in dealing with its religious interests in many countries. An independent papacy would be virile, impartial; a papacy subject to some temporal ruler would be time-serving, hampered and restricted in its great

task of saving men's souls and in directing the organization and work of a complex, wealthy, international ecclesiastical system. The Popes, therefore, were consistent opponents of Italian nationalism. Without Rome and without the center of the peninsula there could be no Italian nation. When we recall that the bulk of the Italian population were members of the Roman Church and that many felt that their national patriotism was in conflict with their religion, we can realize how great an obstacle the Papacy and the Papal States were to the creation of a united Italy.

We are already familiar with Napoleon's conquest of Italy and its effects, with the restoration of the old kings by the Congress of Vienna, with the intervention of Austria to put down revolutions in 1821 and 1830. The French occupation left its indelible imprint. In spite of repression, the love of liberty and the desire for national unity still lived. Since the despots imitating Metternich would not allow peaceful discussion or freedom of speech or press, Italian liberals resorted to secret societies, conspiracy and assassination. The most powerful society seeking the organization of a united and democratic Italy was the *Carbonari* (charcoal burners). The *Carbonari* used violent methods; property was destroyed, outrages committed and even murder was employed to frighten the tyrants of Italy into liberal concessions. These methods failed and their failure cast discredit upon the *Carbonari*, but it did not destroy the revolutionary spirit.

Italy finally found in Giuseppe Mazzini, fiery enthusiast and zealous crusader, the great propagandist of Italian unity. He was the guiding spirit of *Il Risorgimento* (the Resurrection), as the movement to free Italy from the evils of oppression and dissension is called. Mazzini (1805-1872) was born of a middle class family at Geneva. His father was a university professor, and Mazzini studied law. As a young man he joined the *Carbonari*, devoting his energies to spreading the ideals of the French Revolution, took part in the uprising of 1830 and was jailed. After his release from prison he abandoned the *Carbonari* convinced that its methods were

impractical, and organized a new movement called Young Italy—*La Giovine Italia*—made up of ardent intellectuals devoted to the cause of republicanism and union. Mazzini's dreams were of a great democratic republic that would unite all Italians. Young Italy fired the enthusiasm of hundreds that the *Carbonari* never reached. Mazzini was too much of the dreamer, too much of the fiery crusader to achieve practical results; but his work was a necessary preliminary to prepare men's minds for unity.

Those interested in Italian unity were divided into three main groups. One, following Mazzini, hoped for a general insurrection of the people to oust the petty tyrants, expel the hated Austrians and establish a democratic republic for all Italy. An attempt was made in this direction by Mazzini in 1848; a republic was set up in Rome but was overthrown when the Pope secured the aid of French and Austrian soldiers to reinstate him.

A second group of patriots led by the priest, Gioberti, hoped to see a federation of the States of Italy under the presidency of the Pope. For a few brief years Pius X, who was elected to the Papacy in 1846, gave evidence of liberal sympathies, but his experiences during the revolutionary year 1848 greatly embittered him and he became a staunch conservative. Moreover, as the demand for unity became more crystallized the Pope began to fear that the creation of united Italy would weaken his own influence and lessen his prestige as the spiritual head of Christendom. He became the staunch opponent of unification.

Ultimate success, however, did not lie with the republican Mazzini nor the clerical and conservative Gioberti but with a third group made up of the moderately liberal bourgeoisie who wanted a constitutional monarchy and looked to the House of Savoy in Sardinia-Piedmont to absorb the discordant states of the peninsula. The princes of the House of Savoy were abler men than could be found in the other states of Italy. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia-Piedmont from 1831 till his abdication in 1849, definitely identified himself with

the cause of Italian unity in the revolution of 1848. He was the outstanding champion of the people in their desperate efforts to expel Austria, and his decisive defeats at Custoza and Novara were, as we have seen, largely the result of weak and divided support from the other potentates of Italy. He identified himself with liberalism by granting his people a constitution. Rather than rule as a defeated sovereign who might bring down on his people the vengeance of the victorious Austrians, he abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II, who retained the liberal constitution his father had granted, although the Austrians desired its revocation. Victor Emmanuel was sane, clear-headed, practical, tactful. He had the good sense to realize that a policy of conservatism was out of date, and he had the good fortune to possess in Cavour a minister who possessed both the vision and the capacity necessary to develop Sardinia into a well governed, prosperous state, and to transform Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia-Piedmont, into Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy.

Camille Benso, Count Di Cavour, was born of a noble Piedmontese family in 1810. He entered the engineering corps of the army, but resigned and devoted his early life to the leisurely study of politics and economics. He travelled much throughout Europe, particularly in England, where he made a careful study of her parliamentary system, which he greatly admired. He became a moderate liberal, keenly interested in the problem of Italian unity. In 1850 he was appointed Minister of Commerce and two years later Prime Minister of Sardinia-Piedmont, a position which he held, except for a brief interruption, until his death in 1861.

Cavour was confident that Italian unity would come, not through the frequent uprisings of a Young Italy nor the schemes of Gioberti for a federation under Papal control, but through Sardinia. The *Carbonari* had failed; the revolts of Young Italy had failed; and even Sardinia's attempt at the liberation of Italy had failed. To succeed Cavour felt that he would have to accomplish two things: first, he must make Sardinia liberal, progressive, modern, and in this way secure

the loyal support of the bourgeoisie and at the same time the respect and confidence of the other states of Italy; secondly, he must secure foreign aid, for Custozza and Novara had illustrated that Sardinia was too weak and the Italian states too jealously divided to rid themselves of Austrian domination without help.

As Minister of Commerce and Prime Minister he set about the task of making Sardinia-Piedmont a model state, economically and politically. The nobility was indifferent to the cause of Italian unity and the mass of the peasants were ignorant as well as poor. Realizing that active support must come from the bourgeoisie, he did all that he could to promote their interests. He concluded favorable commercial treaties with European governments, thereby stimulating commerce and industry. Railway construction was encouraged, in order to bind the country together as well as to facilitate the transportation of goods. He subsidized shipping; he encouraged by favorable legislation the construction of factories and the improvement of agriculture. The constitution of 1848, which gave the suffrage to property owners and taxpayers and which made the ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies, was scrupulously maintained. Inequalities of taxation were removed and the finances of the country were put on a sound basis. The army was reorganized and its discipline improved. Finally, like many liberals of his day, he developed a feeling of hostility toward the influence of the Church. He wanted religion and politics separated,—a “free church in a free state.” Toward this end he introduced a series of laws which destroyed the jurisdiction of the Church courts, suppressed monasteries, expelled the Jesuits and other religious orders. Clericalism was identified with opposition to liberalism. Cavour’s foreign policy was so bold and spectacular that we are inclined to underestimate the value of his internal improvements, but without progressive internal reforms in Sardinia his foreign policy would have been of little avail.

Cavour’s foreign policy was directed toward getting an

ally to aid in driving Austria out of Italy. Napoleon III, who had been a member of the *Carbonari* and who, like his uncle the first Napoleon, was quite willing to pose as the champion of oppressed nationality, seemed to be the most promising prospect. When the Crimean War broke out, Cavour, hoping that Austria would join Russia, watched the struggle anxiously, for he calculated that a beaten Austria might conceivably be punished by the transfer of her holdings to Sardinia-Piedmont. But although Austria failed to enter the conflict, Cavour in 1855 boldly decided that the cause of England, France and Turkey was somehow Sardinia's, and he joined them. By the treaty of Paris Sardinia-Piedmont obtained nothing; but the conference gave the brilliant Cavour the opportunity to impress upon the assembled peace-commissioners the importance of Piedmont and the fact that the presence of Austria south of the Alps was a constant menace to the peace of Europe.

Two years later, in 1858, Cavour was able to induce Napoleon III to enter into an alliance. In January of that year an Italian (Orsini) had made an attempt upon the life of Napoleon because he felt that Napoleon had been a traitor to the cause of Italian unity. The fear of other attacks was probably one reason for Napoleon's entering into the alliance, but a more important factor was the increasing necessity of placating domestic factions. In any event Cavour and Napoleon agreed that, if Sardinia could provoke Austria to attack her, France would lend a hand and receive Savoy and Nice as her reward, while Sardinia was to acquire Lombardy-Venetia and be converted into the kingdom of Northern Italy.

In modern warfare it is convenient to have the enemy appear the aggressor. No nation ever fights an offensive war, or at least it never admits it. It became necessary for Cavour, therefore, to manipulate events in such a way that Austria would attack Italy. After the agreement with Napoleon, the Sardinian army became increasingly active and to the Austrians appeared to be mobilizing in a most threatening fashion.

Finally Austria began to mobilize troops along the Sardinian frontier and sent an ultimatum to Sardinia demanding disarmament. Sardinia made no reply. Austria declared war. Napoleon III, protector of small nations and champion of oppressed nationalities, rushed to the assistance of Sardinia-Piedmont. The allies invaded Lombardy and won victories at Magenta and Solferino.

Meanwhile events in other parts of Italy gave a startling turn to affairs. The war provoked a tumultuous outburst of national feeling. In the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany and in the Romagna (northeastern section of the Papal States) popular uprisings caused the expulsion of Austrian dukes and local officials. Cavour had quietly prepared the way for such events and sent special commissioners to look after the interests of Sardinia-Piedmont. The real enthusiasm manifested by the people for the Sardinian cause alarmed Napoleon III; he soon came to realize that he had helped to start a conflagration that he could not control. It was no part of his scheme that Victor Emmanuel should extend his sway over all Italy. Furthermore, he was alarmed by Prussia's mobilization of troops along the Rhine and feared that the war would prove more costly in blood and treasure than he had anticipated. Therefore, to the anger and chagrin of Cavour, Napoleon III promptly concluded an armistice at Villafranca with Francis Joseph I, Emperor of Austria. Cavour was for continuing the war single-handed, but the wise and sane counsel of Victor Emmanuel prevailed; after negotiations the following results were embodied in a group of peace treaties (Villafranca, Zurich, Turin). (1) France obtained Savoy and Nice. (2) Sardinia-Piedmont obtained Lombardy. (3) Piedmont was allowed to annex Parma, Modena, Tuscany and the Romagna, after the people by large majorities had voted for annexation.

Shortly after this settlement had been effected there developed a popular uprising against the Bourbon despot who ruled the Two Sicilies. Here Garibaldi, the most romantic and popular of all the heroes of Italian unification, played his

part. Born in Nice in 1807, Garibaldi had served in the Sardinian navy, joined Young Italy, and was condemned to death for taking part in one of Mazzini's republican plots. Escaping to South America for ten years he continued his crusade for liberty in various revolutions there. He returned to Italy to fight with Charles Albert against Austria in 1848 and the next year bravely but vainly defended Mazzini's Roman Republic against the French troops. Driven from Italy again, he went to New York, where he worked for a time as a candle-maker on Staten Island and later acted as captain of a ship trading with South America. In 1854 he returned to Italy and lived in retirement on the island of Caprera. A thoroughgoing republican, he came to realize that the only hope of Italian unity lay in the house of Savoy.

When news came of the revolution in Naples Garibaldi boldly decided on a private expedition of his own to aid the revolutionists. The magic of his name soon brought a force of adventurers around him and, publicly denounced but privately encouraged by Cavour, he set sail from Genoa May 5, 1860, with about one thousand "Red Shirts." In a few weeks he was master of Sicily and crossed over to the mainland, where he was received everywhere with enthusiasm. He entered Naples in triumph and might easily have made himself dictator of southern Italy. He knew, however, that such an act would be challenged by Victor Emmanuel and so, putting patriotism above his own glory, he agreed to a plebiscite, which proved the popular desire for annexation to Piedmont. The government of the Two Sicilies was turned over to Victor Emmanuel, and King and Liberator enjoyed a common triumph in the streets of Naples.

In the midst of Garibaldi's victories, Cavour had ordered the occupation of the Papal States along the eastern Adriatic, and as a result Umbria and the Marches were also added to the rapidly enlarging kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont. Thus it was that in the years 1859-1861 Sardinia-Piedmont had expanded till it embraced all of the Italian peninsula except Venetia (which still belonged to Austria) and the Papal terri-

tory about the city of Rome. In 1859 Sardinia was a kingdom of 5,000,000; in 1861 it governed 22,000,000. Victor Emmanuel assumed the title of King of Italy in March of 1861. Within a few months Cavour, whose genius had directed the movement for Italian unity, died.

The story of the completion of Italian unity is linked with the unification of Germany and the World War of 1914. In planning war upon Austria, Bismarck wanted to divide the forces of Austria and so was willing to have the new Italy as an ally. When war broke out between Austria and Prussia in 1866, Italy was defeated by the Austrian forces, but Austria was completely crushed and humiliated by Prussia and so at the end of the brief war could not object to Italy receiving the reward for her participation,—Venetia.

Four years later, during the Franco-Prussian War, when dire necessity made it imperative for France to have all available troops, she withdrew the French garrison stationed at Rome for the protection of the Pope. Victor Emmanuel launched a successful attack upon the Papal Guards and, despite the protests and appeals of the Pope, captured Rome; a plebiscite was held and, as in the case of the Two Sicilies and Venetia, the people voted for union with Italy. In July of 1871 eternal Rome became the capital of a united Italy.

There were still Italians living under Austrian rule in Trent, Trieste and other places along the border. Ardent patriots declared that unification would not be complete until this *Italia Irridenta* (unredeemed Italy) was brought under the Italian flag. The story of how this was accomplished in the World War will be told in its proper place.

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

In studying the development of a national German State we have another opportunity to note how inaccurate it is to divide history into water-tight compartments, or to attempt to discuss the history of a country without consideration of what is going on elsewhere in the world. The story

of German unification is inextricably woven into the history of the third Napoleon and Italian unification. The unification of Germany is treated separately simply for the sake of convenience and it will be necessary to refer time and again to facts that have already been discussed, some at length, others briefly.

Elsewhere we have noted that central Europe, loosely organized into the Holy Roman Empire, like the Italian peninsula, failed to achieve consolidation as a national state at the beginning of the modern period when the monarchs of England, Spain and France were crushing independent feudal nobles and introducing a system of national law and common obedience. We have elsewhere described the effect of the Napoleonic period upon the German states. Napoleon not only destroyed the impotent Holy Roman Empire but reduced the total number of Germanic states by abolishing hundreds of bishoprics and dukedoms; he organized the Confederation of the Rhine and introduced the liberalizing tendencies of the French Revolution into the Rhenish provinces and the south German states. Of even greater importance was the effect of the Napoleonic tyranny upon the conquered Prussia. Under the leadership of Stein, Scharnhorst, Hardenberg, Fichte and others there arose a fierce spirit of enthusiastic patriotism whose immediate aim was the overthrow of the master of Europe. It found vent in political, legal, military and educational reforms and achieved its triumph in the "battle of the nations" at Leipzig and the services of Blücher at Waterloo.

This patriotic national awakening did not spend itself with the overthrow of Napoleon, but continued throughout the century. A patriotic literature developed; the educational system, from primary school through the university, was directed to the task of instilling in the German youth a love of fatherland. History and philosophy were used to prove that the Germans were a great people, deprived of their rightful place among the nations of the world. In Niebuhr, Ranke, Droysen and Treitschke, Prussia developed historians

of the first order, but they not infrequently departed from the scientific habits of research they helped to introduce, to eulogize past German greatness and to vision a still more powerful Germany under Prussian leadership. Even anthropology was invoked to show the superiority of the Germanic or Teutonic peoples; philology (under the brothers Grimm, more famous for their fairy tales) was used to show the superiority of the German language and race; the philosopher Hegel attempted a synthesis of history in which the progress of civilization was to find its truest expression in the German people. This constant cultivation of a new worship for Germany's past and of patriotic hope of a glorious future, this continuous propaganda of press and university, of book and pamphlet, was, of course, a most necessary factor in preparing the way for the formation of the German Empire.

The consolidation of the Germanies inaugurated by Napoleon was made permanent by the Congress of Vienna, which organized the loose German Confederation of thirty-eight states under the leadership of Austria. It was a league of sovereigns, not of states or peoples. Each sovereign—king, duke, prince or free city—remained independent. A Diet whose members were appointed by the sovereigns and subject to their control, and where a unanimous vote was required for action, discussed but did not control foreign affairs. In many respects it resembled the weak Articles of Confederation under which the United States struggled through the disastrous period of 1781-1789.

There were many obstacles in the way of forming a single united nation. First, there were sharp religious differences; in the north, where the majority of the people were Protestants, Lutheranism was usually the state religion; in the south German states—Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg—the Roman Catholic religion was predominant. Secondly, the political traditions of the south and west were different from those in the north and east. In the south and west the people had eagerly welcomed the revolutionary reforms of Napoleon, becoming devoted to the ideas of equality, popular sovereignty,

and constitutional control of the monarchy. In the north, and particularly in Prussia, although serfdom had been abolished and many legal reforms introduced, the tradition was that of autocracy, enlightened despotism, divine right monarchy. Thirdly, the chief economic interest of the east was agricultural; great landed proprietors formed an extremely conservative "Junkerthum" in control of politics, business and religion. The west, which had most of the mineral resources of Germany, was destined to become the great manufacturing center. Fourthly, the independent states were jealous of their sovereignty, loath to surrender their rights and privileges.

Finally, there was the difficulty which divided German nationalists themselves,—should national unity be achieved under the leadership of Austria or Prussia? These were the two most powerful German states and inevitable rivals for the dominant place in German affairs. Unfortunately for the Hapsburgs of Austria, centuries of conquest had added to their empire many non-German peoples—Italians, Poles, Roumanians, Magyars, Croats, Slovenes, Czechs and Slovaks. Obviously a state that included Austria and her subject races would cease to be a truly Germanic state. But the inclusion of the entire Austrian empire in a united Germany was the program of one group of German nationalists,—the *Gross-Deutsch* faction. The *Klein-Deutsch* faction argued for the exclusion of at least the non-Germanic races ruled over by Austria. When the Frankfort Assembly proposed a constitution that excluded the non-German subjects of Austria from the proposed confederation, the Hapsburg monarchy quite naturally opposed it, and became the champion of the existing German Confederation. After the failure of the Frankfort Assembly, it seemed apparent that a union of the Germanies could not be effected without a test of strength between Austria and Prussia.

Prussia had acquired an important advantage over Austria by the creation of a Zollverein or tariff union under her leadership. In 1815 each of the thirty-eight German states had their own external tariffs and some of them had a com-

plicated system of internal tariffs, which naturally interfered with the normal development of trade and heightened mutual jealousies. In 1818 Prussia introduced the policy of forcing smaller neighboring states to accept free trade arrangements with her and to maintain a common tariff, administered by Prussia, against all other states. The Prussian system was initiated in the south by Bavaria and Wurtemberg and even in the north a rival customs union was formed. Self-interest demanded the amalgamation of the rival unions and by slow stages Prussia induced the various states to enter hers. By 1834 the Prussian Zollverein included seventeen states; by 1852 all the Germanic states were enrolled in the Prussian union except the three free cities of Hamburg, Bremen and Lubeck, the Mecklenberg provinces, and, of course, Austria. This economic union of the Germanies had a quite obvious bearing on the problem of political union. It developed the habit of mutual trust and cooperation; it tended to centralize administrative control; it enlisted the sympathy of influential business men.

Contemporaneous with the gradual formation of the customs union was the slow spread of the Industrial Revolution in the Germanies. Railroads were built, telegraph lines were opened, mineral resources were exploited, new machinery and new factories started to increase the industrial output of the Germanic states. These changes naturally aroused the bourgeoisie to demand a better political and administrative system. Divergent laws, multifarious taxes, complex trade regulations, a top-heavy bureaucratic system interfered with normal trade conditions and placed the German business man under a handicap that most of his rivals did not have to endure.

We have already noted the failure of the Frankfort Assembly to achieve a democratic union for Germany. The failure at Frankfort was tragic, for it blasted the hopes of those who longed for the ascendancy of democratic principles. The triumph of conservatism in the Germanies is noticeable even in the slight concession that Frederick William of Prussia made to the liberals, for he "granted" a constitution, the con-

servative character of which has already been noted. After 1848 it seemed inevitable that if Germany were united it would be without democracy. The humiliation of Olmutz aroused a spirit of nationalism among the conservative Prussian nobles, who, annoyed at the weak policy of the King, now became enthusiastic supporters of the policy of Prussian leadership in the Germanies,—a policy destined to be controlled by the principles of conservatism and reaction.

In 1858 Frederick William IV became insane and his brother, William I, was appointed regent; three years later William I became King of Prussia. With his reign there began a new era in Prussian affairs; in character and action he resembled the stronger Hohenzollerns of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He was a soldier, gloried in his army and wanted to see it the best-trained and best-equipped in Europe. The years of his regency witnessed the Austro-Sardinian war of 1859 in which he saw his rival suffer the loss of Lombardy. Determined to introduce a new spirit, he found in von Moltke a general of the first rank and in von Roon as minister of war an excellent organizer and administrator. As part of a scheme of reorganization and improvement of the army, William and his minister wanted to increase the yearly levy of troops from forty to sixty-three thousand, and to lengthen the term of service in the reserve from two to four years. It was an enlargement of the policy of compulsory military service which Prussia had adopted in the days of the War of Liberation. But an enlarged army meant increased taxes and the king found the parliament in sharp opposition to him. The liberals felt that militarism would be the death blow of liberalism, and even some conservatives found the increased taxation so distasteful that they joined with the liberals in voting down the proposal. The struggle between king and parliament was fundamental. The victory of parliament would mean the triumph of liberalism. The king, with his heart set on the increased military establishment, was none the less conscientious and was about to give in to the stubborn opposition of parliament—even con-

templated abdication—when his military advisors suggested that he name as his first minister a conservative of the conservatives and entrust to him the task of “taming” the rebellious parliament. Otto von Bismarck—“the Iron Chancellor”—was the man chosen to find a way out of the difficulty.

Bismarck belonged to the Junker class, the rich Prussian landlords from whom most of the civil and military officials of Prussia were chosen. Born in 1815, he grew up during the period when Metternich’s ideals were dominant in Europe. In college he was the typical young Junker, devoting more time to drinking and carousing than to his studies. As he grew older, however, he became more serious and the conservative prejudices of his class became with him settled convictions. He ridiculed the democratic ideals of the Frankfort Assembly and was one of two in the Prussian Diet who refused a vote of thanks to the king for granting the constitution. As Prussian delegate in the Diet of the German Confederation he became impressed with the importance of German unification and with the irrepressible conflict between Prussia and Austria. Later he served as ambassador to Russia, where he won the friendship of the Czar, a valuable asset in his later career, and then went as ambassador to Paris, where he had an opportunity to study the character of Napoleon III. When he became William I’s chief minister in 1862 he was firmly devoted to the ideals of divine right monarchy, autocracy and the Lutheran State Church. He believed that the unification of Germany meant the Prussianization of Germany.

His method of handling parliamentary opposition to the military increases was simple and typical of the man. The ordinary method of argument, entreaty and compromise having failed, he took the bold step of ignoring parliament altogether. The army was increased and taxes were levied without the consent of the legislature. This was, of course, entirely unconstitutional, but Bismarck rightly prophesied that the success of his measures would make people forget the constitution. He thus summed up his policy, “Not by

speeches and resolutions of majorities are the great questions of the time decided,—that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849,—but by iron and blood.” Militarism and autocracy were in the saddle.

Bismarck was a statesman of vision and a skilled administrator as well as an overbearing leader and the cleverest diplomat of his time. During his ministry reforms begun by William I were ably carried out. Railroads were built with an eye to their military as well as their strategic value. Trade and agriculture were encouraged. Economy ruled in all departments and inefficiency was tolerated nowhere. Bismarck did much to make “Prussian efficiency” proverbial. Prussia became the model state of Germany much as Piedmont had been the model state in Italy, but with the important difference that Cavour tried always to strengthen parliament and develop responsible government along with efficient government; Bismarck scorned parliament and worked entirely through a bureaucracy responsible to himself.

Bismarck saw clearly that if Prussia was to dominate the new Germany Austria must be eliminated, and he laid his plans accordingly. He took pains to quiet the fears of Napoleon III as to his intentions by suggesting that in return for allowing Prussia a free hand in dealing with the German situation, he would help Napoleon to obtain compensation elsewhere. He purchased the friendly neutrality of Russia by promptly offering Prussian troops to aid the Czar at the time of the Polish insurrection of 1863. Queen Victoria of England and her Prime Minister, Palmerston, were manifestly in sympathy with Prussian aspirations. In recognizing the new kingdom of Italy he had an opportunity to win over the Italians and at the same time warn Austria of his unfriendly feeling toward her.

In 1864 he joined with Austria in a war with Denmark over the Schleswig-Holstein question. Schleswig and Holstein were two duchies under the personal rule of the King of Denmark. Schleswig consisted of a mixed Danish and German population, while the inhabitants of Holstein were al-

most wholly German. The duchies were nominally independent and Holstein was a member of the German Confederation. The King of Denmark decided to incorporate them into the Danish kingdom, an action which was frowned upon by German nationalists. Rising as the champions of German nationalism, Prussia and Austria together in a brief war defeated Denmark, compelling her to turn over the duchies to them. A quarrel developed between the victors over the division of the spoils, and it seems to have been Bismarck's intention that the quarrel should lead to a final rupture between the two. Bismarck longed to annex the provinces, for their strategic position made them eminently desirable, the harbor of Kiel giving promise of being an excellent naval base. Austria championed the transfer of the provinces to the Duke of Augustenberg, who had been a rival claimant against the Danish King. Austria secured the approval of the German Diet for her policy. Bismarck objected; the quarrel was temporarily patched up by the Convention of Gastein, which assigned Schleswig to Prussia and Holstein to Austria. Bismarck proceeded to convert the harbor of Kiel into a Prussian naval base, and complained that Austria, not satisfied with the Convention of Gastein, was pressing the claims of the Duke of Augustenberg. Austria submitted the dispute to the German Diet, but Bismarck boldly claimed that it was no affair of the Diet and that Austria's action dissolved the Convention of Gastein. Prussian troops were sent to threaten the Austrian control of Holstein. At the same time Bismarck cleverly made it appear that Prussia was sponsoring German nationalism by submitting a plan for the reorganization of the Confederation to the Diet. (His plan excluded Austria). Austria mustered a majority vote in the Diet rejecting Prussia's plan; at the same time she had the Diet call out the Federation troops against Prussia to maintain her control of Holstein. Bismarck argued that this was an attack upon Prussia, boldly seceded from the Confederation and plunged into what he had made appear a defensive war.

In preparing for the war Bismarck had realized that the

lesser German states would side with Austria and so, a few months before, he had made an alliance with Italy, promising her Venetia in return for assistance in war against Austria. As we have already noted Russian and French neutrality had been assured and England was decidedly friendly. Austria had been isolated by the wily Bismarck. In a brief "Seven Weeks War" between Prussia and Italy against Austria and the smaller German states, a few Prussian regiments were able to overcome the lesser states, while the main Prussian army marched against the forces of Austria, which, of course, were divided by the necessity of dispatching some troops to fight the Italians. The Austrians were successful in Italy, but the Prussian victory at Sadowa (or Königgrätz) was so decisive that it brought the war to a speedy termination. Austria sued for peace without delay. Bismarck submitted his terms and before Europe had time to realize what had happened Austria had accepted and signed the treaty of Prague.

The Seven Weeks War and the treaty of Prague had many important consequences. Not only did it affect Austria and Prussia, but also Italy, the German Confederation, South Germany and France. Bismarck dealt leniently with Austria. She lost no territory except Holstein to Prussia and Venetia to Italy. Her greatest humiliation was her forced exclusion from the German Confederation and her consent to allow Prussia a free hand in reorganizing the Germanies. Italy, as we have noted, although her troops had been defeated, profited by receiving Venetia. Bismarck rounded out Prussian territories from Poland to the Baltic by annexing Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Frankfort and the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, through which there was later dug the famous Kaiser Wilhelm Ship Canal which connected the Baltic with the North Sea. (The Danes of Schleswig objected to this incorporation with Prussia, but Bismarck quieted them with the unfulfilled promise that they would be allowed to vote on the question of union with Denmark. The whole question of Schleswig-Holstein was revived at the conclusion of the World War in 1918.)

Bismarck organized a new German Confederation, composed of the German states (about twenty in number) north of the River Main. It was called the North German Confederation. Its constitution was so framed that with little alteration it could become the constitution of the German Empire when the influence of national patriotism had induced the south German states to join. It provided that the King of Prussia should be president, and established a legislature consisting of a *Bundesrat*, or federal council of delegates, appointed by the princes of the several states, and a *Reichstag* elected by the people. Each state still retained the right to have its own parliament, to control its own local affairs and to levy its own taxes, but surrendered control over the army and foreign affairs to the President of the North German Confederation. By granting universal suffrage the crafty Bismarck seemed to be making concessions to the liberals. He restored the Prussian constitution which he had ignored since 1862 and asked for a bill of indemnity for his unconstitutional acts. It was granted. He had guessed right in supposing that, following a victorious war, the liberals would be so full of patriotic enthusiasm that they would be willing to condone and forget how he had trampled upon their principles.

South of the River Main were four states,—Baden, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt,—which refused to join the North German Confederation. Bismarck did not force the issue, trusting that in due time patriotism and self-interest would draw them into the Prussian sphere of influence. They still remained members of the Zollverein. By alarming them with stories of French aggression he was able to negotiate secret treaties by which they promised to assist Prussia if she were attacked by a foreign foe. Prussia made similar promises to them. In the event of war—say with France—Bismarck felt sure that they would seek union with the Confederation.

Bismarck needed a foreign war, preferably with France, to complete the work of unification he had so auspiciously begun. We have told how he outwitted Napoleon III with promises of compensations which never materialized, of how

French patriots, alarmed at the growing power of Prussia, took up the cry of "Revenge for Sadowa," of how jingoes in both countries fanned the flames of war, and of how Bismarck used the dispute over the succession to the Spanish throne to again outwit the gullible Napoleon and make him appear the aggressor in the war that followed. When the war broke out, Bismarck's mild treatment of the south German states bore fruit. They immediately sided with Prussia, much to Napoleon's chagrin, for he had confidently counted on them as allies.

The war revealed the excellent war machine that von Moltke and von Roon had built. In August the Germans besieged a French army at Metz, captured another along with the Emperor at Sedan in September and began a four months' siege of Paris. Paris capitulated in January, 1871; a few days later an armistice was concluded. In May the treaty of Frankfort terminated the war. Within ten months France had been crushed and during the interval the German Empire and the third (and present) French Republic had come into being.

By the treaty of Frankfort, France ceded Alsace-Lorraine to Prussia—provinces demanded by Bismarck because of their strategic location and because of their deposits of coal and iron. France also had to agree to pay an indemnity of one billion dollars. Bismarck considered this indemnity so heavy that he thought it would cripple France for years to come. German troops were to remain on French soil until the indemnity was paid. Much to the surprise of the Germans, the French paid off the indemnity in short order and by 1873 the last of the Prussian soldiers left French soil.

As we have seen elsewhere the Italians took advantage of the war to destroy the last vestige of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope by seizing Rome. The Second French Empire could not survive the sting of defeat and, after a struggle, the third French Republic came into existence. The South German states—Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt—entered the North German Confederation, whose name was now changed to the German Empire. In the Hall of

Mirrors at Versailles on January 18, 1871, the new German Empire was proclaimed. King William of Prussia now became Emperor of a united Germany. Bismarck had accomplished his task—Germany was united and Germany was Prussianized.

Not the least important result of the Franco-Prussian War was the lingering enmity between the French and the Germans. This bitterness lagged from time to time, but it was always easy for the patriot to fan it into a flame. It was an unquestioned factor in promoting militarism during the coming years, and left a "sore-spot" which the French tried to avenge in the World War of 1914-1918. It is well, however, to note that in the years preceding 1870 the French were just as anxious for war as the Prussians. The events of 1914-1918 have tended to create the popular impression that the war of 1870 was a deliberate, unprovoked attack by Germany for the purpose of seizing Alsace-Lorraine. Bismarck undoubtedly manoeuvred for war; but he found Napoleon III and the French only too ready. Essentially it was a war for German unity which the French were bent on preventing from becoming an accomplished fact. The devouring flames of nationalism in both Germany and France plunged both countries, eager and confident, into war.

THE FORMATION OF THE DUAL MONARCHY OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Austria ruled over a polyglot empire. Her numerous races had been a source of weakness to her from the days of Maria Theresa on. Magyars, Czechs and Poles had memories of an independent past and these, as well as Italians, Roumanians and Jugoslavs, felt the waves of nationalism that surged over Europe in the wake of the French Revolution. The difficulties of the Germans, who made up only about one-fourth of the total population, in keeping the subject races in check help to explain why Austria under Metternich was the foremost exponent of absolutism and the most bitter opponent of

nationalism during the first half of the nineteenth century.

For a time in 1848 nationalism triumphed in Hungary and Bohemia, but both provinces had racial problems of their own and internal dissension helped the government forces regain control. The new Emperor, Francis Joseph, repudiated the constitutions which his predecessor had granted and reaction seemed again triumphant. Nationalism still lived, however, to plague the Austrian rulers. In 1859 the prestige of the government was weakened by the defeat by France and Sardinia and the consequent loss of Lombardy. In order to avert a revolution Francis Joseph, in 1860, granted a constitution. This "February Patent," as the constitution was called, provided for a two house legislature for the entire empire. The upper house was to be made up of hereditary and appointed members; the lower house was to be elected indirectly by a system which favored the landlords. The apportionment of delegates was so arranged as to give the Germans control of the legislature.

This constitution, illiberal as it was, was an improvement over the arbitrary system that existed, but the Hungarians refused to accept it. They objected to it because it made Hungary a mere province instead of recognizing her as a distinct nation. They felt that by accepting it they would forfeit their claims to something better. Louis Kossuth from his exile urged revolution, but the new leader, Francis Deák, proposed a plan of federation which, while still leaving Hungary in the empire, would grant her control of her own affairs. Austria refused to yield and a deadlock resulted.

By the Seven Weeks War of 1866 Austria lost Venetia and Holstein and was expelled from the German Confederation. Since she had lost her influence in German affairs she became more interested in her non-German possessions, realizing that some concession was necessary to keep them loyal. An agreement was reached between the Emperor and Deák and a new constitution, the *Ausgleich* or Compromise, was promulgated in 1867. By the *Ausgleich* the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary was established. Each country was to have its own

official language and its own government entirely distinct from the other except that they were to have the same sovereign,—called Emperor in Austria and King in Hungary,—and foreign affairs, war and finance for both were to be administered by a joint ministry. These three departments were to be controlled by the "Delegations," committees of sixty members from each of the two parliaments. The "Delegations" were to sit separately, alternately at Vienna and Budapest, and in case of disagreement were to sit together for a vote without debate.

Austria continued to be governed under the constitution of 1861, slightly modified in 1867. The parliament was controlled by the upper classes until 1906, when universal manhood suffrage was granted. In Hungary the constitution of 1848 was revived. It provided for a ministry responsible to a parliament of two houses,—one hereditary, the other elected by property owners. This illiberal constitution, in which only one citizen in twenty had the right to vote, remained in effect until 1918.

The Compromise of 1867 did not end the bitter rivalry between Hungarian Magyars and German Austrians. An Independence Party arose in Hungary under the leadership of Francis Kossuth, son of the old revolutionary leader. This party, which demanded economic independence for Hungary and the complete Magyarization of the Hungarian army, was at times prevented from breaking up the *Ausgleich* only by the threat of granting universal suffrage, which would have given the Slavs control of the kingdom. In spite of jealousy and bitterness, however, the two countries managed to present a united front on foreign affairs and the unique dual monarchy held together until the general breakup after the World War.

Beside the rivalry of Magyars and Germans the dual monarchy had plenty of other racial problems. Austria had Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and Italians who outnumbered the Germans nearly two to one. Half the population of Hungary was made up of non-Magyar peoples,—Roumanians, Germans, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs and

Ruthenians. In both countries suffrage requirements were so arranged as to favor the ruling race. For the most part in both countries all other domestic questions were subordinated to that of keeping down the racial minorities. Parties were formed mainly on racial lines. In Austria each of the seventeen provinces had its own diet with considerable power over local affairs. Under the Taaffe ministry a liberal policy was followed toward the minority groups, especially the Czechs. The ancient German university of Prague was divided into a German and a Czech university, the Czech language was taught in the public schools and Czechs were appointed to high positions. The vain hope that a wider franchise might quiet the demands for racial equality was one of the reasons for the extension of the suffrage in 1906.

Hungary pursued a less liberal policy toward her subject races than did Austria. Transylvania, which was controlled by the Roumanians, was deprived of her diet, and the powers of the diet of Croatia-Slavonia were considerably limited. A policy of "Magyarization" was carried on throughout the kingdom. Only the Magyar language was permitted in the public schools, non-Magyar newspapers and magazines were suppressed, even signs in railroad stations and other public places had to be in Magyar.

In spite of repression nationalism persisted and grew in strength. Austria's attempt to prevent her southern Slav subjects from breaking away and joining Serbia was a direct cause of the World War. Nationalism ran riot in the peace treaties that broke up the empire at the war's close.

THE TRIUMPH OF NATIONALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, as in Europe, nationalism and democratic reform marked the period from 1815 to 1870. The decade following the War of 1812 was one of intense nationalism. The following decades saw democracy growing strong but the spirit of nationalism weakened and almost destroyed by sectional differences culminating in civil war. After a long destructive struggle the forces of union triumphed and

the nation began again the process of building up a real spirit of national solidarity.

By 1824 Jeffersonian democracy, always more theoretical than practical, had become aristocratic. Its long period of power had brought conservative elements flocking to its standard. Rich planters had from the beginning been the controlling element in it and with the disintegration of the Federalists many merchants and capitalists became prominent in Republican politics. The era of good feeling was an era when, under the banner of the Republican party, the wealthy of all sections ran things to suit themselves, forgetting that the party had been founded as the party of the common people in protest against the rule of the well-born and the rich. A new democratic movement soon split the Republicans. This movement originated in the West, where so many similar movements have started. The fact that throughout the first century of its existence the United States had at its back door wide stretches of fertile land, available to its citizens at low cost or free, has been the most important single factor in its history.

The territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi was acquired from England after the Revolution. Jefferson, by the purchase of Louisiana, added the great western valley of the Mississippi. Land-hungry pioneers were not long satisfied even with this imperial domain. Citizens of the United States began to get grants of land in Texas from Mexico and to offer inducements to settlers. Shrewd Yankee skippers made the long voyage around Cape Horn to trade with districts along the Pacific coast. Lured by tales of the beauty and fertility of the California country, settlers began to brave the hardships of the long journey across desert and mountains to the Pacific. Mexico, torn by revolution and exploited by adventurers, was unable to stem the tide of invasion. In 1836 a revolution in Texas, led by citizens of the United States, won independence from Mexico and after ten years of bitter opposition from the anti-slavery elements Texas was annexed to the United States.

Mexico had never recognized Texan independence. Failing to appreciate the "Manifest Destiny" of the United States to expand to the Pacific, which politicians expounded so eloquently, she declared that annexation proved what she had always claimed,—that the Texas revolution had been planned by the United States with this very end in view. Mexico was bitter. The United States was not at all averse to war, for out of it she hoped to gain the territory on the Pacific where a handful of Americans had already proclaimed the Republic of California. The excuse for war came out of a dispute as to whether the boundary between Mexico and Texas was the Nueces river or the Rio Grande. President Polk sent troops into the disputed region and when they were attacked by Mexicans piously declared: "American blood has been shed on American soil. War exists by the act of Mexico."

This high-handed attack on a weak neighbor met with plenty of criticism both inside Congress and out. Lowell in his *Bigelow Papers* put into the mouth of a Yankee farmer his satirical comment that "our nation's bigger'n theirn an' so its rights air bigger." Opposition was soon drowned, however, in patriotic clamor to support the government in time of crisis. By the war the great Southwest, 800,000 square miles of territory, was added to the United States. Far from feeling guilty, patriots and preachers of "Manifest Destiny" declared that the unselfishness shown in the failure to annex all of Mexico was downright quixotic.

The Northwest, the Oregon territory, had been annexed before the war with Mexico. Spain, England and Russia all had claims to this region based on discoveries and explorations. English and American trading posts were established there soon after the Revolution. In 1803 Jefferson sent the Lewis and Clark expedition which brought back a mass of information as to the climate and products of the region and blazed the trails which were soon filled by the ubiquitous pioneer. Periodic demands for the annexation of this territory brought no result until southern politicians conceived the plan of quieting the protests of the anti-slavery party against the

annexation of Texas by tying it up with that of Oregon. "Fifty-four forty or fight" and "The reannexation of Texas and the reoccupation of Oregon" were the slogans that swept Polk into the Presidency in 1844. Bullying England, however, was a different matter from bullying Mexico, and England's offer of the forty-ninth parallel as a compromise line was eagerly accepted in 1846.

The story of the settlement and development of the West is an epic rich in romance. In it the hunter and trapper, the cowboy, the lumberjack, the farmer, the land speculator, the pony-express rider, the railroad magnate and the oil king have all played their part. Aside from its romance it is a story of bravery and hard work, of desperate chances and rich rewards. The West has profoundly influenced the course of events in the United States as a whole throughout its history.

On the frontier land was the chief form of wealth and land was cheap. There were no very rich and no very poor. Everyone worked; there was no upper class. In such an environment of social democracy political democracy was bound to thrive. There were no property or religious restrictions on the suffrage or on office holding. Practically all officials were elected and terms of office were short. The West was willing to experiment with schemes for making the government more responsible to the people and for extending the functions of government. It has continued to supply the new experiments in democracy,—woman suffrage, commission government for cities, direct primaries and the initiative, referendum and recall.

The pioneers came from different states. Old traditions and state jealousies had little meaning for them. They wanted the help of the federal government to drive back the Indians and keep them under control; they wanted federal appropriations for building roads, bridges and canals. Consequently the influence of the West was on the side of a stronger national government at the expense of states' rights.

Since land was cheap it was comparatively easy for a man to start farming on his own account. He would not work

for someone else unless he were well paid. This, combined with the fact that the development of a new country required a great deal of labor, made the general wage scale in the United States higher than anywhere else in the world. The constant migration of workers to the West and their replacement by immigrants from Europe made labor organization more difficult. Due largely to cheap land and high wages, the American labor movement has been slower to develop solidarity and has been less radical in its demands than the labor movements of Europe. The West was progressive but not radical. The bulk of the population was made up of farm owners hoping to get rich out of an increase in land values. While some of the ideas of the West might shock the conservative East, any attack on the institution of private property was anathema.

The West was not alone in its demand for democracy in the twenties and thirties. Factory manufacture had received a strong impetus during the War of 1812 and, fostered by protective tariffs, increased steadily. Trade was expanding and cities growing. Factory workers and artisans were demanding the right to organize and other democratic reforms. Inspired by the example of their newer sisters in the West, the older states were making democratic changes in their constitutions. The suffrage was extended, property qualifications for office holders abolished, more offices made elective, free public schools established.

By 1824 three sections could be distinguished,—the East, the South and the West. Each had a different economic background, each had interests conflicting at certain points with the others. The West, composed mainly of small farmers, wanted internal improvements financed by the national government. Since it was a debtor section it wanted cheap money and easy credit and was opposed to a strong national bank controlled by eastern capitalists. Most of all, it wanted a homestead law,—the grant of public lands free to settlers. The South, dominated by slave-owning planters, favored expansion if the new territory were open to slavery. It also

was a borrowing section and opposed the control of currency and credit by a strong national bank. Most of all, the South wanted low tariffs so that it might buy manufactures at a low price from England, to whom it sold most of its cotton. The East, the commercial and manufacturing center, favored internal improvements which would encourage trade. It opposed selling the public lands cheaply or giving them away, since this attracted laborers away from the factories and made wages higher. A creditor community, it wanted sound money and a national bank which its capitalists could control. Most of all, it wanted protective tariffs so that it could sell its goods, free from English competition.

It would be foolish to think that any one of the three sections was fully aware of its economic interests or solidly united in its demands. There were conflicting elements in each of them. However, the three sections existed and became more clearly distinguished as time went on. The struggle between them formed the main basis of American politics down to the Civil War.

In the presidential election of 1824 there were four candidates,—Crawford of Georgia representing the South, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts representing the East, and Henry Clay of Kentucky and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee representing the West. Jackson received a plurality of the electoral votes, but since there was no majority the election went to the House of Representatives, where Clay threw his strength to Adams, making him President. Jackson declared that this was a corrupt plot to defeat the will of the people and immediately began a campaign which resulted in his election in 1828.

The election of Jackson was in itself a democratic revolution. All of the preceding Presidents had come from families of wealth and culture. All of them except Washington had been college graduates. Jackson was decidedly of the people. Born in a log-cabin in the backwoods of South Carolina, he had only the most rudimentary schooling. Migrating to Tennessee he practiced law, speculated in land, was sent to the

United States Senate and later made a judge. He won a reputation for bravery in various Indian wars and became a national hero by his victory at New Orleans in 1815. Rough, impetuous, sincere, he was the idol of the frontier, but polite eastern society shuddered at the thought of this "tobacco-chewing brawler" in the White House.

Jackson and his followers believed firmly in the statement of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal. From it they drew the corollary that one man was as fit as another to hold office. Offices should be passed around, giving everyone a chance. Guided by this theory and also by the belief that many office holders had used their positions to prevent his election, Jackson dismissed thousands and replaced them by his own partisans. Removals for partisan reasons had been frequent before, but there had been no such wholesale removals as Jackson made. This was the beginning of the spoils system which has featured American politics ever since.

Jackson's attack on the United States Bank was also dictated by democratic impulses. The bank, whose immensely profitable stock was held mainly by eastern capitalists, was looked upon as undemocratic by the West. Why should the government enrich a few capitalists at the expense of the whole country? Its notes drove out of circulation the issues of state banks, thereby contracting the currency and making it harder for debtors. It was also charged that the bank discriminated against its political opponents in making loans. Jackson vetoed a bill for the renewal of the bank's charter and then withdrew the government's deposits, distributing them among "pet" banks controlled by the states. This caused a tremendous uproar in the country and helped bring on the panic of 1837, a panic due primarily to over-speculation in western lands.

Jackson's attack on the bank brought out sectional differences and made party lines clearer. Jackson had the overwhelming support of the West and the rather grudging support of the southern planters, who were somewhat worried by

his democratic ideas. Jackson's supporters took the name Democrats, a name which was still viewed with horror by conservatives. His opponents, of whom Clay, John Quincy Adams and Webster were the outstanding leaders, called themselves National Republicans and later Whigs. The Whigs were made up of the same commercial, banking and manufacturing groups who had been the mainstay of the Federalists. They wanted a strong national bank, internal improvements, a protective tariff and a Supreme Court that would interpret the constitution so as to safeguard property interests. While they had some followers throughout the country they were strongest in New England and the commercial centers of the East. The Whigs always remained an opposition party. Realizing the strength of the alliance of South and West which had elected Jackson and the power of the democratic appeal, they were on the defensive, trying to show that they were more democratic than the Democrats. They won but two elections, 1840 and 1848, in both cases with a military hero, and without any platform or definite statement of principles.

The Jacksonian period and the generation that followed it were marked by a great intellectual fermentation. It was an age of mass movements, of propaganda, societies and reforms. While Puritanism was being weakened in New England by the Unitarians and other liberal groups, on the frontier Methodists and Baptists, who preached the democratic doctrine of salvation for all, were growing rapidly. New religious sects,—Dunkers, Seventh-Day Baptists, Mormons, Come-outers,—sprang up like mushrooms. John B. Gough toured the country condemning the liquor traffic and starting temperance societies. Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, pioneers of feminism, started the movement for women's rights. Most important of all these humanitarian and reform movements in its immediate effects was that of the Abolitionists.

While there had been advocates of the abolition of slavery even before the Declaration of Independence, the real father

of the abolition movement was William Lloyd Garrison. Garrison was convinced, heart and soul, that slavery was a crime, and devoted his life to its extinction. In 1831 he started in Boston a weekly newspaper, the *Liberator*, in which he declared, "I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retract a single inch—and I will be heard." Conservative and respectable people everywhere condemned him as a crazy idealist, a dangerous agitator. He was mobbed in the streets of Boston, but still he kept on. Wendell Phillips, patrician of Boston patricians, broke with his polite friends and devoted his talents and his incomparable oratory to the cause. Emerson, Lowell and Whittier attacked slavery in prose and poetry. Abolition societies were formed throughout the North. The Methodists and Baptists were both split over the question. Congress was flooded with petitions until by the infamous "gag resolutions" all anti-slavery petitions were laid on the table without discussion.

Powerful and determined as the abolition movement was, it is doubtful if it could ever have roused the people sufficiently to abolish slavery by law. The Liberty Party, with immediate abolition as its platform, polled but 65,000 out of 2,500,000 votes in the election of 1844. Slavery was primarily an economic question, not a moral one, and economics finally forced its solution.

By its nature slave labor is adapted only to agriculture, extensive agriculture. It requires favorable climate and fertile soil. Land worked by slave labor rapidly becomes exhausted. In colonial times slavery existed in all the colonies but died out because it did not pay. At the time of the adoption of the constitution slavery was dying in the South,—because it did not pay. Just as in the later days of the Roman Empire, the law of diminishing returns was at work. Planters with large gangs of slaves found their incomes decreasing until they could barely meet expenses. There was no market for slaves, since other owners were in the same boat. Then came the invention of the cotton gin and slavery once more became profitable. New lands were opened to cotton culture. Vir-

ginia and the Carolinas with their exhausted lands became breeders of slaves for the new regions. As slavery grew more profitable, from being considered an evil it came to be looked upon as a necessary evil and finally as a positive good,—good for the owner because it gave him leisure to devote to the arts or affairs of state, good for the slave because it raised him from barbarism, converted him to Christianity and taught him habits of industry.

The law of diminishing returns was still functioning, however. Land devoted to cotton raised by slave labor was soon exhausted; new land was constantly necessary to keep up the supply of cotton and the price of slaves. The desire for new lands that would be open to slavery was the main reason for the occupation and annexation of Texas and for the Mexican War. The national government had no control over slavery in the states, but it did control the territories and it was the question of the extension of slavery in the territories that first made slavery a vital issue in national politics.

Slavery had been excluded from the Northwest Territory by the Ordinance of 1787 but had been permitted in the territories south of the Ohio. When Louisiana was settled slave-owners occupied most of the southern section and free labor the northern. In 1818 Missouri applied for admission as a slave state. Opposition developed, but after long and bitter discussion the Missouri Compromise provided that Missouri should be admitted as a slave state, and Maine as a free state to keep the balance between free and slave states in the Senate, and that slavery should be forever prohibited in the rest of the Louisiana purchase north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, the southern boundary of Missouri. The question did not come up again until provision had to be made for the territory acquired from Mexico. After another bitter debate, by the Compromise of 1850, it was decided, along with various other provisions, that the question of slavery in these territories be left to the people of the territories to decide for themselves. This principle of "squatter sovereignty" seemed to have solved the problem;

all sections united in rejoicing and declaring that the compromise was permanent.

The Democrats, by combining the West and the South, maintained practically continuous control of the government from the time of Jackson on. The tariff was kept low, a national bank was not reestablished. Although the Whigs elected two Presidents during the period they were never strong enough to put their program into effect. The alliance, however, showed signs of breaking up. The western states were interested above all else in the public lands. They wanted the government to grant free homesteads to those who would occupy them, a demand that was heartily seconded by labor in the East. They also wanted large sections of public lands turned over to the states to be used by them to encourage the construction of railroads. The South was opposed to the Homestead Act since small farms meant non-slave states which would overpower the slave states in Congress. They wanted railroad grants only for those roads that would benefit the South. The West was being bound ever closer to the East by railroads with terminals in New York and Philadelphia. Moreover, the West was heavily in debt to eastern capitalists.

The most ambitious and in many ways the most far-sighted politician of the Northwest was Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. He devoted himself in Congress to securing grants of land for railroads on which the prosperity of the Northwest depended. He conceived the scheme of connecting Chicago with the Pacific by a railroad built by grants of public land. Southern leaders had been planning a railroad which would connect the Pacific with the South and, in order to get votes for his project, Douglas proposed that the Missouri Compromise be repealed so as to permit slavery in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, which were just being organized. Far-seeing men realized that slavery could hardly be successful in these regions because of climate and soil, but slave owners were in desperate need of new slave territory and

welcomed the plan. Accordingly the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 declared the Missouri Compromise repealed and provided that the settlers in Kansas and Nebraska decide the question of slavery for themselves. Immediately the storm broke. The Missouri Compromise had been looked upon as sacred. Abolitionists condemned the Kansas-Nebraska bill as a plot to turn the country over to the slave power, and Whig politicians took up the cry. Free-soil Democrats, Whigs and Abolitionists formed the Republican party, which in 1856 nominated John C. Fremont for the Presidency on a platform declaring against the further extension of slavery. Frightened by the radicalism of the new party, conservatives in the North joined with the South to elect Buchanan, the Democratic candidate. Southern Democrats controlled the administration and, alarmed at the hostility shown to slavery, determined to safeguard it while they could. The Supreme Court, of which a majority were southern sympathizers, in the famous Dred Scott decision, declared that since slaves were property, Congress had no right to prohibit slavery anywhere. This doctrine was too strong even for many who believed in squatter sovereignty.

In the Democratic convention of 1860 the insistence of the South that the party declare that slavery was right and must be protected everywhere caused a split. The northern faction nominated Douglas on a squatter sovereignty platform, the southern nominated Breckenridge. Eastern manufacturers, alarmed at the militant spirit of the slave owners, turned to the Republicans and secured a declaration in the party platform in favor of a protective tariff and in return endorsed one for a homestead law. The platform asserted the right of the states to permit or forbid slavery, but declared that it could have no legal existence in the territories. For a candidate the Republicans passed over the prominent leaders among the Whigs and free-soil Democrats and chose Abraham Lincoln, a country lawyer who had been unknown until his brilliant campaign against Douglas for the United States Senatorship from Illinois two years before.

Born in a log-cabin, reared in poverty, educated by his own

efforts, chosen for the highest position in a great nation, Lincoln's life is an epitome of democracy. His ability to judge and handle men, his patience, his fortitude in time of trouble, his simple dignity, his sympathy, his practical common sense, have won him a high place among the great statesmen of all time.

Lincoln carried every free state except New Jersey. The South was determined to force the issue, believing that the North would yield or at least not fight to prevent the cotton states from forming a free-trade nation of their own. South Carolina called a convention which voted unanimously to withdraw from the union. Ten other states followed and formed the Confederacy. The seceded states took over without opposition the forts and arsenals within their borders, but the commander of Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor refused to surrender. The Confederates finally took it by storm and the war began. Roused by the attack on Sumter, the North rallied to preserve the union.

The exact nature of the federal union had never been authoritatively determined. That the national government had only those powers granted to it in the constitution, all agreed. But who was to be the judge as to whether the government was exceeding those powers? What was the remedy if it did? Was the union a perpetual one or could a state withdraw if it were dissatisfied? The Federalists, while in power, maintained that the Supreme Court was the judge of the powers of the national government and the states had no recourse from its decisions. In the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions the Republicans declared that each state was its own judge as to whether the constitution had been violated and a state might nullify an act of Congress which it believed unconstitutional. When the Republicans came into power, purchased Louisiana, passed the embargo and made war on England it was the Federalists' turn to cry "unconstitutional." The Hartford Convention of 1814 practically repeated the statements of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions about nullification. The question came up again in the tariff strug-

gle of 1832. South Carolina declared the tariff law null and void and forbade any citizen of the state to pay the duties. Jackson took steps to enforce the law but before a conflict came the compromise tariff of 1833 was passed and South Carolina withdrew her nullification act. In the dispute over the fugitive slave law several northern states passed personal liberty laws practically nullifying the law of Congress. Abolitionists talked freely of secession as a means of getting rid of the curse of slavery. In 1857 southern Democrats talked of a war on New England to prevent her secession over the slavery question.

The theory of nullification, and secession which was the logical consequence of nullification, was, then, not a local theory or a party theory. It had been appealed to time and again by the party out of power as a means of opposing actions of which they did not approve by the party in power. By itself it is doubtful if it would ever have caused a war; men seldom fight for abstract principles alone. Rivalry between the slave-owning South and the capitalist North was the fundamental cause. Secession was the weapon to which the South turned.

The story of the four terrible years of war must be passed over. In spite of the gallant bravery of the South its defeat was inevitable. The North had an overwhelming advantage in population and, what is more important, in railroads and manufacture. Machinery enabled production to continue in northern factories and on northern farms while most of the men were in the army. By Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 slavery was abolished in the revolting states. The thirteenth amendment abolished it throughout the nation. The victory of the North decided, by force at least, that the union was supreme.

1870: THE END OF AN ERA

While we have several times pointed out that history is a continuous development and that it is futile to try to divide it into compartments, in many ways the period around 1870

marks the end of an era. The governments of most of the great powers had recently achieved the form they were to keep until the great cataclysm of the World War in 1914. The German Empire, the Third French Republic, the Kingdom of Italy, the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary all date from this period. England in 1867 by passing the second reform bill enfranchising the workers in the cities made a radical change in her government. In 1866 the King of Sweden granted a constitution and the same year Denmark's constitution was made more democratic. The Balkan states, under the stimulus of nationalism, were starting the disruption of the Turkish Empire. Russia in 1863 had emancipated her serfs and started a series of reforms under Alexander II. In the United States the Civil War made changes in her political, economic and social system so important as to constitute a revolution. In far-off Japan a revolution displaced the Shogun and made the Emperor ruler in fact as well as in name.

In the half century that had elapsed since the Congress of Vienna the principles of the French Revolution had triumphed in spite of the schemes of the reactionaries. Everywhere constitutions guaranteeing, more or less securely, fundamental rights were in force. Everywhere reforms had been adopted. Nationalism had triumphed in Belgium, in Italy, in Germany and in Hungary.

The new era that opened about 1870 saw no diminution of the strength of these principles. In all countries there has been a steady growth of democracy, or at least of the form of democracy, a steady broadening of the meaning of liberty and equality. Nationalism has continued with ever-increasing strength. We shall see it rousing the Balkan peoples against their Turkish rulers; we shall see it making trouble for England in Ireland, Egypt and India; we shall see it disrupting the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Nationalism has led peoples to acquiesce in a mad race of armaments culminating in the disaster of 1914. Finally nationalism has roused China, for years the football of greedy imperialists, to assert her rights and begin the long struggle for national unity.

Before we attempt to describe the course of nationalism and democracy in individual countries, we will describe two factors of modern civilization that have been common to all countries and have profoundly influenced the history of the past century,—science, the labor movement, social and economic reforms.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY, 1814-1870

- 1810-1822 Revolt of Spanish colonies in America.
- 1814 Louis XIV restored to throne in France. Treaty of Ghent between England and United States.
- 1815 Congress of Vienna.
- 1818 Zollverein started by Prussia.
- 1819 Carlsbad Resolutions. Peterloo Massacre and "Six Acts," England.
- 1820 Quadruple Alliance puts down revolution in Naples. Missouri Compromise.
- 1821 Quadruple Alliance puts down revolution in Piedmont.
- 1823 French suppress revolution in Spain. Monroe Doctrine promulgated.
- 1824 Charles X becomes King of France.
- 1828 Jackson elected President of United States.
- 1829 Greece wins independence. Catholic Emancipation Act in England.
- 1830 July revolution replaces Charles X by Louis Philippe in France. Belgium gains independence. Unsuccessful revolutions in Italy and Germany.
- 1831 Polish revolution fails.
- 1832 First Reform Bill, England.
- 1833 Slavery abolished and first factory act, England. Jackson destroys United States Bank.
- 1837 Financial panic, United States.
- 1838 Chartist Movement begins, England.
- 1845 Texas and Oregon annexed to the United States.
- 1846 United States makes war on Mexico. Coin Laws repealed in England.
- 1848 Revolutions in France, and throughout Germany, Italy and Austrian dominions. Louis Philippe overthrown and Second Republic established, France. Metternich overthrown. Charles Albert grants constitution in Piedmont. Mazzini's republic in Rome overthrown. Frankfort Assembly fails to unite Germany.
- 1850 Prussian Constitution granted. Attempt to settle slavery by great compromise in the United States.
- 1851 Louis Napoleon by *coup d'etat* changes constitution of France.
- 1852 Louis Napoleon becomes Emperor.
- 1853 Outbreak of Crimean War—Russia vs. Turkey, England, France and Piedmont.

- 1859 France and Piedmont make war on Austria.
- 1860 Lombardy, Parma, Tuscany, Modena, Romagna annexed to Piedmont. Garibaldi conquers Kingdom of Two Sicilies. Lincoln elected President of the United States.
- 1861 Kingdom of Italy proclaimed. Civil War breaks out in United States.
- 1862 Napoleon III's Mexican expedition. Bismarck becomes chief minister of Prussia.
- 1864 Prussia and Austria war on Denmark for Schleswig-Holstein.
- 1865 Civil War ends in United States. French troops withdrawn from Mexico.
- 1866 Austro-Prussian War. Italy annexes Venetia. North German Confederation formed.
- 1867 Ausgleich in Austria-Hungary. Second Reform Bill, England.
- 1870 Franco-Prussian War. Third Republic Proclaimed in France. Italy captures Rome.
- 1871 German Empire established.

CHAPTER VIII

MODERN SCIENCE

ALL about us, in city and country, we find evidence of man's ingenuity and progress. Tall stately buildings of steel and concrete, well heated, well lighted, comfortable, sanitary, are on every hand. We think nothing of telephoning to the grocer for meat, fruits, or vegetables that have come half way 'round the earth. The business man cables an order for coffee to Brazil or sells his stock in some French corporation on the Paris Bourse. We go to our work in trolley car, or subway or elevated express, reading a newspaper that contains despatches from Tokio or Moscow or Rome. The paper itself, recently part of a tree in some distant forest, was fed to the printing press in an endless roll and came from the press printed, cut and folded at the rate of several thousand per hour. We cross monstrous bridges, travel through tunnels dug under rivers and through mountains; we listen to the hum of an aeroplane overhead. We look above and see the antennae of a wireless telephone that snatches words and music from the air. We can stop at a public fountain and drink pure water that has been brought underground for miles. Everywhere about us are these proofs of man's marvelous handiwork, yet few of us ever realize the vast amount of slow scientific research represented by these common comforts and conveniences which make our modern habits and activities, our thoughts and problems so different from those of our grandfathers. Before the contractor and workman could build our tunnels and bridges, heat and light our homes, the quiet and unheralded searcher into the secrets of nature spent many weary but interesting hours, and even years, in discovering the principles of chemistry or physics or mathe-

matics that underlie these practical manifestations of their untiring and often unrewarded effort.

At no period in his long and marvelous history has man made so much progress in practically all lines of scientific research as he has in the past hundred years. In biology, in zoology, in botany, in chemistry, in physics, in geology, in archaeology, man has been busy, and withal somewhat successful, in ferreting out the secrets of nature. In doing so the scientist has affected our habits and mode of living, he has corrected and transformed our ideas and is still changing our life in such various ways that we cannot as students of history fail to examine a few of the more important of man's discoveries.

We have already reviewed the scientific ideas of the ancient and medieval world; we have learned of Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century as the far-off herald of a new day; we have seen how the Renaissance opened up new visions and inspired a curious scientific interest in the world itself; we have reviewed the important work of Francis Bacon, Descartes, Galileo and Newton, and explained how in the eighteenth century the increasing interest in science produced in political and economic writers a spirit of criticism of the existing order which unquestionably aided in the overthrow of the Old Regime.

Before recounting the landmarks in scientific development in the nineteenth century it may be well to recall what was said elsewhere on the methods employed by science. Modern scientific method owes much to Francis Bacon of the sixteenth century. Without his insistence upon the need of experimentation, and upon the examination of the nature and causes of everyday phenomena, without his emphasis on the necessity for accurate instruments, it is altogether doubtful if we would today be enjoying the results of applied science. It was the custom of men to accept things as they were, to accept without question the current and age-old opinions of things. With the coming of Bacon and Galileo, and Kepler and Newton in the seventeenth century, there developed a

critical and inquisitive spirit which gave rise to the experimental and inductive method—the method now employed by scientists. Instead of accepting as true a general statement or theory the modern scientist will experimentally test this theory and if he finds it wanting he will reject it, and endeavor to formulate a new theory that will explain the facts. After a theory has been well proven by experiment it is then possible to apply it deductively and assume that what has happened in a number of cases will always, under the same conditions, continue to happen in similar cases.

Scientists frequently find it necessary to formulate suppositions or theories to explain the observed phenomena of nature. For example, Newton in the seventeenth century formulated what was known as the corpuscular theory of light. According to Newton all luminous bodies sent forth minute particles, "corpuscles," which are reflected and produce vision. During the nineteenth century, owing to the work of several experimenters and in particular that of Young and Fresnel, this theory was discarded and was supplanted by the undulatory or wave theory of light. Inasmuch as wave motion is only possible when there is some medium, it became necessary to postulate the theory that all space and matter is filled with some substance to which the name ether has been given. (The ether here referred to is not to be confused with the drug which is used as an anesthetic.) On no other hypothesis is it possible to explain the undisputed fact that it takes forty years for the light of the North Star to reach the earth. In recent years, owing to the discovery of electric waves and radio-active substances, the general term ether waves is being applied to both light and electric waves, and wide acceptance is given to the electro-magnetic theory of light. Here, then, we have the rejection of one theory and the formulation of another, namely, that all space is filled with ether and that it is the medium through which light and electric waves are transmitted. These are theories, not facts, that, like their predecessor, may have to be abandoned later because of new discoveries. The scientific world has many

such theories, which furnish excellent working hypotheses and which not infrequently are the indispensable means leading to the discovery of new sets of facts. A theory, then, even though it may have to be amended or even abandoned, may be extremely helpful,—or, to use the phrase of Sir Oliver Lodge, may be “partially and usefully true.” Scientists always keep this distinction between fact and theory in mind. Not so the popularizers of scientific discoveries, who sometimes create considerable misunderstanding by announcing as a fact that which the scientist puts forward merely as a possible explanation of facts. This confusion in the popular mind, and at times even in the mind of the educated, has frequently led to severe and bitter criticism and condemnation of the scientist.

In speaking of the definite progress that has been made in the various branches of science, it is well to keep in mind the idea that all the sciences are interdependent. It is easy to exaggerate and maintain that the chemist has rendered greater service than the physicist. But there is sufficient glory for all in the simple statement that they have profoundly affected our life. The metallurgist requires the aid of the geologist in digging the valuable ores from the bowels of the earth. The chemist is needed to analyze and purify them. The biologist studies the secrets of life and finds it necessary to call in the aid of other sciences. Fundamental, indeed, to all sciences is the oldest and most exact of all—mathematics.

PHYSICS

Certain principles of the science of physics were known to the ancients, but it was not until the formulation of Newton's theory of gravity and the statement of the theory of the conservation of energy in the nineteenth century that the work of the physicist was based on a solid foundation and the way paved for the remarkable achievements of recent times.

An important name in the field of physical science is that of the American, Benjamin Thompson, who in recognition of

his services was made a count of the Holy Roman Empire by the Elector of Bavaria and is better known as Count Rumford. Rumford's main contribution consisted in demonstrating that heat was not some sort of heavy fluid as had formerly been supposed, but a form of energy. This mechanical theory of heat, which was generally accepted only after some time, helped to prepare the way for the formulation of what is known as the theory of the conservation of energy, the foundation stone of modern physics. The names of the Germans, Mayer and von Helmholtz, the Frenchman, Joule, and the Englishman, Lord Kelvin, the most distinguished physicist of the century, are closely associated in the development of this theory. Briefly stated, the theory is that energy can neither be created, nor destroyed. The amount of energy in the universe is a constant, although some of it radiates away into space (*e. g.*, the heat energy generated when we hit a nail on the head or the steam that escapes from a boiling kettle) and becomes lost to practical use. The most significant and practical part of this theory is that the forms of energy are convertible, one into the other; as, for example, the use of the energy stored up in the bowels of the earth in the form of coal or oil can be used to drive a railroad train or a steamboat.

Another physical discovery of the nineteenth century of vital importance in serving the needs of man was the spectroscope. Spectrum analysis, like most important discoveries, is not the work of one, but of many men working in the same field, notably Wollaston, Fraunhofer, Herschell, Kirchhoff, and Bunsen. The spectroscope is an indispensable instrument of research. It brought about, for example, the discovery of the element helium, which was first found to be present in the sun, and later found in the earth.

Some of the most remarkable developments in the science of physics have occurred in the study of electricity and magnetism. The phenomena of magnetism were, of course, long known to the ancient world and had been utilized during the middle ages in making the mariner's compass. Franklin's kite-

flying in the eighteenth century had identified the lightning of the thunder storm with electricity. But no great practical value could result from man's knowledge of electricity until it was possible to harness it, enslave it to man's needs. Two Italians, Galvani and Volta, whose names have passed into the language (volt, galvanic, galvanize) accomplished this feat toward the end of the eighteenth century by the invention of a battery. The battery, which enabled man to generate and control electricity in such quantities and at such times as he desired, resulted in many important discoveries. Electric current enabled Sir Humphrey Davy, one of the foremost scientists of the early nineteenth century, to isolate sodium and potassium and to demonstrate the arc-light. The battery prepared for the era of telegraphy. But there were still many difficulties in the control and use of electric current, not the least of which was the excessive cost; these were not solved until the development of the dynamo and motor.

Preliminary to the dynamo, was the discovery of the relation between electricity and magnetism, a task accomplished by the Dane, Oersted, who found that an electric current would "move a magnet, act like a magnet and would produce a magnetic field." It was not long before numerous other investigators occupied themselves with the subject of electromagnetism and finally succeeded in producing the electro-magnet. This made it possible to convert electrical energy into mechanical energy. Motors of various types were invented to accomplish this transformation. Efforts were made to run machinery by motors, but the great cost of producing current by means of a battery to supply the motor prevented complete success. That "prince of experimenters," Michael Faraday, solved the problem. Faraday found that, by means of induction, the process was reversible, *i. e.*, mechanical energy could be converted into electrical energy. Faraday (1791-1867), the son of a blacksmith, was apprenticed at an early age to a bookbinder and acquired his education by studying the books that passed through his hands. He became interested in experimental science and attracted the attention

of Sir Humphrey Davy, who succeeded in getting Faraday a position as assistant professor of chemistry at the Royal Institution. Davy later remarked that Faraday was his greatest discovery. Faraday, in 1831, mounted a disc of copper between the poles of a horseshoe magnet and found that as the disc revolved an electric current was generated. This disc of copper set in motion, by steam or any other source of power, within the magnetic field of the horseshoe, produced an electric current. Here we have the fundamental principle of the dynamo which makes possible the electric railway, the telegraph, the cable, the telephone, the electric light.

Further investigation into physical phenomena produced a wide variety of inventions. For example, the work of the German, von Helmholtz, laid the basis for the science of acoustics; another German, Hertz, a pupil of von Helmholtz, toward the close of the century experimentally established the fact that electric and magnetic waves (the so-called "Hertzian waves") possessed the characteristics of light waves. The practical importance of this discovery has been far-reaching; it is the basis of Marconi's work in giving the world the wireless telegraph, and in more recent years has caused the development of the radio-phone. The American inventor, Edison, has given the world a number of practical inventions, not the least of which is the phonograph. In considering the comforts and conveniences they have given to us, the industries they have created, the energy and power they have put at man's disposal, the social and industrial problems that have followed in their wake, we can easily find justification for the statement that the experiments of Faraday and others far surpass in historical importance the victories of Napoleon, Grant's campaign in the Wilderness, or even Rousseau's *Social Contract*.

CHEMISTRY

If the physicist was busy giving to the world revolutionizing secrets, the chemist did not lag far behind. Indeed the progress of both went hand in hand. Modern chemistry can

trace its ancestry to the alchemy of the Middle Ages. We have already told how the work of such men as Boyle, Lavoisier, Priestley, Scheele, and Cavendish displaced alchemy with modern scientific chemistry. The basis of all present day chemistry is Dalton's atomic theory, formulated toward the close of the eighteenth century (and, of course, modified in many particulars throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries). According to Dalton, every molecule (*i. e.*, the smallest particle of a compound that can exist and still manifest the properties of a compound) is composed of indivisible atoms. The process of analyzing or decomposing substances has been carried on by a host of investigators throughout the nineteenth century. Chemists have isolated about 90 elements; about 75 of them having been discovered since Dalton's promulgation of his theory. The chemist can now tell not only what substances combine to make up any substance, but can also tell in what proportion the various elements are present. And he has reversed the process. Not only does the chemist decompose substances, but he combines them; this field of investigation has led to the development of what is known as synthetic chemistry.

Aniline dyes, alcohol, indigo, perfumes and drugs are but a few of the artificial products of the chemist. The use of artificial fertilizers, which increase the quantity and quality of crops obtained from a given acreage, has revolutionized agricultural methods. By analyzing the soil the chemist can tell the farmer what crops to plant or what must be added to the soil to produce a given crop. By instructing manufacturers how to use the waste materials of industry the chemist has added millions of dollars to the wealth of the world. The hoofs, the skin, even the hair and blood of animals formerly thrown away are now used as by-products of the meat-packing industry. Paraffin, naphtha, lubricating oils of various kinds (some two hundred in number) are now obtained in large quantities from what were formerly waste materials in the process of refining crude oil. Bessemer, by his process of removing silicon, carbon and sulphur and other

injurious substances from iron ore, has made it possible to obtain a better steel from iron mines that would otherwise be useless. Artificial ice, so necessary as a food preservative in our present complex civilization, is due to the chemist and physicist. In recent years the bio-chemist has been analyzing foods and studying their action on human and animal life. As a result he is able to tell us what diets to follow for improving certain pathological conditions. The chemist is a valuable assistant to the doctor, helping him to prescribe drugs and analyze impurities in the blood. The bacteriologist or the sanitary engineer, assisted by the chemist, examines our water supply, detects and eliminates impurities that have caused dreadful plagues in the past; his laboratory work is the foundation of the large filtering plants which protect the millions of the cities. Chemical research has prepared the way for the development of sanitary codes and pure food laws.

Not only do chemists and other scientists promote the arts of peace, unfortunately they have made war more deadly. The researches of the chemist have given the world the terrible high explosives which destroy fortresses and cities. The airplane, the bomb, the machine gun, add to the horrors of war. Poisonous gases annihilate not only armies, but the civilian population as well. The wholesale destruction of wealth and property incident to modern war disrupts the world's economic organization for decades. It is not improbable that another war like the last, or even less universal, would completely destroy our civilization and throw the world into the chaotic condition that followed the break-up of the Roman Empire.

In recent years the experiments of both the chemist and physicist have thrown considerable light on the ultimate nature of matter. Toward the end of the nineteenth century Professor Röntgen (1895) performed an experiment of far-reaching importance, the full significance of which is not yet known. His experiment involved the passage of a high charge of electricity through vacuum tubes, which were

enclosed within a shield of black cardboard. When Röntgen passed an electric discharge through the hidden tube he observed that rays escaped which had a remarkable power of penetration. Many substances such as wood and leather were transparent to these new rays. Röntgen did not know what they were and was unable to explain them; he therefore named them, after the algebraic symbol for the unknown, X-rays. Becquerel, Rutherford and J. J. Thomson undertook a further investigation of these rays and found that similar radiations were obtainable from uranium salts. Professor and Madame Curie, in their researches, located other radio-active substances and in 1898 succeeded in determining the atomic weight of a new element which, because of its properties, they named radium. These discoveries have already produced important results.

The X-ray photograph is of incalculable aid to the physician. It determines the location of foreign particles in the body; it determines the exact nature and place of fractures; it discloses the action of the heart and stomach and the formation of abscesses or cancerous growths. Not only is radium being experimented with as a cure for cancer and other diseases, but the phenomena of the X-ray and radium are apparently widening our knowledge of the ultimate nature of matter. Theories concerning the structure of the atom are being formulated in the twentieth century which bid fair to equal in importance that of Dalton's in the nineteenth. Already the chemist has gone beyond the atom. He looks upon it as a miniature solar system, as the atom is now thought to be composed of negatively charged particles of electricity, called electrons, revolving about a nucleus of positive electricity, the proton. If we consider this nucleus to be about the size of a walnut, a negative electron five feet in diameter is whirling about this nucleus in an orbit that has a diameter of one mile. It was believed that the emanations from radio-active substances were due to the disintegration of the atom. This theory of the disintegration of the atom was conclusively established by Rutherford in 1908. The projection of particles

from radium seem to destroy the parent atom which ultimately becomes the element lead.

In the disintegration of the atom enormous energy is let loose;—it was estimated by Professor Curie that the energy stored up in one gram of radium would suffice to lift a weight of 500 tons to a height of one mile. Another estimate giving us some idea of the energy is that "one gram of radium in changing into lead gives rise to several billion calories of heat, which is millions of times as large a quantity as is liberated by burning the same weight of coal." Until 1920 this subatomic energy was spontaneous and uncontrollable. Sir Ernest Rutherford in that year accomplished the feat of controlling the subatomic energy, but on such a small scale that it is as yet not available. All these experiments of the chemist and physicist in disintegrating the atom lend color to the theory that all matter may be some form of electricity and that all forms of matter are inherently and fundamentally different manifestations merely of the same sort of electrical particles. At any rate, whether it be possible to transmute the baser metals into gold, or whether we shall learn the ultimate nature of matter, already visions of a new source of power and a new industrial era are opening before our eyes, which will render the steam engine and the locomotive museum curiosities and the coal age very ancient and backward indeed.

BIOLOGY

The physicist and chemist were busy discovering the laws and nature of matter. The biologist concerned himself with the study of life, both in the vegetable and animal kingdoms. Much important work had been done since the perfection of the microscope by Leeuwenhoek in 1673. But just as chemistry awaited the formation of a scientific hypothesis like the atomic theory before it could make tremendous strides, so, too, the study of living matter lacked definite direction until the development of the cell theory by Schwann and Schleiden, about 1846. This theory, which underlies all modern scien-

tific study of life in all its manifestations, is simply that the tissues of plants and animals are constructed of minute cells. "The bodies of the tiniest plants consist of a single cell, while those of the more complex consist of innumerable cells. The cell is approximately globular in form and around the ordinary plant cell there is a thin elastic wall composed of a substance called cellulose. This cell wall forms a delicate sac within which is found the living substance called protoplasm. It is this protoplasm which is alive, and has formed the cell wall about itself for protection." In addition to its power of growth, and other life activities, the cell is able to divide itself into two parts, each of which grows to the size of the original. It is this power of self-division which enables a single cell like an egg to produce a complex body composed of numerous cells. The cells produced by this subdivision become grouped into layers or tissues. As the tissues grow, the cells become changed, both as regards form and the work they do, so we have different kinds of tissues. For fully a generation after the enunciation of this theory the belief still persisted that living organisms might be generated spontaneously. But beginning in 1860 the Frenchman, Pasteur, began a series of epoch-making experiments which completely overthrew the theory of spontaneous generation and it became definitely established that only a living cell can produce a cell.

As early as the seventeenth century the microscope had revealed minute living organisms in putrefying meat and in rain water. In 1762 Plaincz, of Vienna, gave it as his firm belief that disease and the decomposition of animal and vegetable matter were caused by these minute organisms. A century later Pasteur gave the name bacteria to these organisms and developed the science of bacteriology.

Louis Pasteur was born in France in 1822. He early became interested in the natural sciences, particularly chemistry and physics, and during his long career was professor of chemistry in various French universities. In 1885 he became Director of the Pasteur Institute, founded and named in his honor, a post he held until his death in 1895. His studies

demonstrated that the decomposition of animal and vegetable matter was caused by micro-organisms called bacteria. Bacteria are the smallest of living things yet known; they are of various shapes and, like all plant cells, consist of a jelly-like substance called protoplasm, which is covered and held in place by a relatively tough membrane. They increase and multiply at an enormous rate by the simple method of dividing into two equal parts or by forming a spore or resting stage, which later develops into the active form. Pasteur showed that the souring of milk, the fermentation of beer and wine, certain diseases of the silk worm anthrax—a virulent cattle disease, and hydrophobia were caused by bacteria, and he thus laid the foundation for the germ theory of disease.

Bacteria, like most things in this world, are good, bad, or indifferent. Contrary to popular belief, most of the bacteria are of the good or at least indifferent variety. There are only a few species of disease-causing bacteria. Among the diseases due to bacteria may be mentioned leprosy, typhoid fever, diphtheria, cholera, the bubonic plague, lockjaw, influenza. A notable achievement in this field of research was the splendid work of the German scientist, Koch, who in 1880 discovered the germ causing the dread white plague, tuberculosis. Needless to say, the discovery of the causes of these and other diseases has been of immense value, not only in effecting a cure but also in preventing these diseases. Bacteriology has made possible what is known as aseptic surgery, and is the key to the entire science of preventive medicine, which has made such rapid strides in recent years.

Most interesting is the fact that bacteria are a valuable aid to the farmer, indirectly helping the growth of crops. They fixate the nitrogen of the air, decompose organic compounds containing nitrogen and pass it on to the plant in a form the plant can use. Without the unseen work of these minute servants of man the farmer might fertilize his fields in vain. "These nitrifying bacteria, as they are called, if swept out of existence, would cause the cessation of all life upon the globe." The bacteriologist in explaining their nature and work has, of

course, aided the farmer and thus helped to increase the world's food supply.

Pasteur not only laid the foundations of the science of bacteriology but he himself applied the knowledge thus gained to the successful solution of many problems. The French wine industry, with an annual value of \$100,000,000, suffered great loss through "wine souring" and by the simple expedient of heating the wine to a temperature of 50° to 60° centigrade (pasteurization, as it came to be called) and by exercising scrupulous care in the cleansing and sealing of containers, he saved millions of dollars for the French wine merchants. It should be noted that the entire modern canning industry is based upon the same principle of excluding all bacteria that would produce fermentation or putrefaction. In 1865 the French Minister of Agriculture begged Pasteur's assistance in ridding the silk worm industry of a blight or disease which had been gradually causing its extinction. He succeeded, and Huxley remarked that Pasteur's discoveries alone would suffice to cover the billion dollar indemnity France had to pay Germany by the terms of the treaty of Frankfort. In turning his attention to the disease anthrax, which was destroying the herds and flocks of France, Pasteur, in 1881, verified the work of previous investigators, notably Koch of Germany, and found a means of preventing the disease. Swine plague and chicken cholera also succumbed to his investigation. It was in his inquiry into chicken cholera that he established the principle of preventive inoculation. The Pasteur treatment of hydrophobia is world famous, and every child is familiar with pasteurized milk.

Pasteur was born of Catholic parents and throughout his life remained a devout Catholic. For him there was no irreconcilable conflict between religion and science. His humility, as well as the limitless field of science, finds expression in his simple phrase, "When one has studied much, he comes back to the faith of a Breton peasant; as to me, had I studied more, I would have the faith of a Breton peasant woman."

Some seventy years before Pasteur's successful experiments

in proving that animals could be made immune to certain diseases by inoculation, Dr. Edward Jenner had made use of vaccination to rid England of an epidemic of small pox. The peasants of England had noted that those who had been afflicted with a mild disease known as cow pox seemed to be immune to small pox. In 1796 Jenner performed his first vaccination (vaccinia—cowpox from the latin vacca, a cow) and demonstrated that it would render man immune to the dreadful disease. Thanks to his discovery, small pox has become a rare disease.

In 1845, Dr. Warren of the Massachusetts General Hospital performed a major surgical operation without inflicting pain. Ether was used to render the patient unconscious and insensitive to pain. Since then chloroform, cocaine and other agents have been used to produce anaesthesia. This is one of the landmarks in the science of surgery. Before the use of anaesthetics, an extraordinary amount of strength, vitality and courage was required of the patient. The modern surgeon is able to open the head or abdomen and prolong an operation two or three hours. He can thus give relief in a large number of cases that formerly would have proved fatal. Naturally, many improvements in the administration of chloroform and ether have been made in the last seventy years; in recent times local anaesthesia has been developed, *i.e.*, sensibility of the part of the body to be operated on is destroyed, but the patient remains conscious throughout.

But this discovery of anaesthesia was not all that was necessary to give surgery its present wonderful efficiency. The wound made by the surgeon's knife did not heal rapidly. Pus would form in the wound, blood poisoning might develop or possibly gangrene, erysipelas or lockjaw. Sixty per cent of all abdominal operations ended fatally. Before Pasteur's discoveries showed that bacteria were the causes of these fatal complications, Joseph Lister had reduced the number of surgical wounds that developed pus and blood poisoning by keeping his instruments and all material involved in the operation clean. In addition to this scrupulous cleanliness he used antiseptics.

Pasteur's researches provided the explanation as to why Lister's operations were so successful. Today no unsterilized instrument, gauze, or hand touches the clean wound made by the surgeon's knife. And thus operations have become so safe that except in rare cases they need cause no dread. Jenner in discovering vaccination, Warren in developing anaesthetics, Lister in the use and practice of antiseptics, and Pasteur in explaining the nature of bacteria, have made possible the miracles of modern surgery.

Equally important advance has been made in the field of preventive medicine. A noteworthy example was the splendid work of Surgeon-General Gorgas in ridding the infested Panama Canal Zone of the dread malarial fever. Swamps are drained, rivers and lakes examined, streets cleaned, garbage and refuse disposed of, those afflicted with contagious diseases quarantined, or isolated, dairy farms inspected, houses fumigated, publicity campaigns carried on by municipal and state boards of health, pamphlets describing the way to avoid certain diseases circulated, spitting forbidden, cleanliness insisted on,—all in a colossal effort to prevent the spread of disease. Despite the evident good that comes to all the world in the saving of human lives, our local, state and national governments are reluctant to spend the large sums of money needed to carry on the work of investigation. Until governments realize the wisdom of expending money from the public treasury for the development of the arts of peace and the promotion of human comfort and welfare, it will be necessary for the world to depend on the generosity of the rich to endow laboratory, museum and hospital.

Thus the chemist, the physicist, the bacteriologist, the physician have been increasing the knowledge and the comforts of life. Scientists in other fields have not failed to add their contributions to the remarkable progress of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Space forbids any detailed consideration of this advance in all the sciences, but it is imperative that before leaving the subject we devote some time to a review of the achievements in geology.

GEOLOGY

At the time of the Congress of Vienna, nearly every one believed with the English minister, Archbishop Usher, that the world was made in the month of October 4004 B.C. All accepted literally the story of the creation as told in the first chapter of Genesis,—that God had created the world as it is, and all the various forms of life as we now know them in six days. Today very few, if any, scientists believe any of these things literally, largely because of the investigations started by Sir Charles Lyell in geology and Charles Darwin in biology.

Sir Charles Lyell (1797-1875) became interested in the subject of geology and, after extensive travels in Europe, America and Asia, formed the theory that the earth came to be as it is through agencies still at work, the effects of which man could observe and measure. Lake and mountain, river valley and delta, he claimed, were the result of rain and wind, snow and heat, earthquake and volcano and other natural causes. Whoever has journeyed barefoot down a rapid brook and noted the smooth surface of the water-swept stones, or whoever has observed the ditch made along a hillside by heavy rains, or has noted the water trickling through the crevices of rocks, freezing, expanding and crumbling it into fine sand that lies at its foot, has seen some of these forces at work. If it is possible to observe some of these causes and processes in operation, it is natural to inquire how long it has taken for a river to form its bed, how long for the Mississippi and Nile to form their deltas. Lyell made many observations of this kind,—probably the most famous is his calculation of the rate at which the falls of Niagara are gradually receding. In 1842 Lyell estimated that the rate of erosion would probably be about one foot per year. Upon Lyell's suggestion, careful observations have been made ever since and it has been found that the rate of erosion is much faster than Lyell supposed—about five feet per year. If the same forces have been at work continually that are operating at present, the Niagara

river would have evolved the whole gorge in about seven thousand years.

In his *Principles of Geology*, published in 1830, Lyell explained how, through unnumbered ages, various forces had given the world its present features. Vegetation is still producing future coal beds, igneous rocks are still in process of formation, upheavals and shiftings of the earth's crust are still rearranging the various strata, tide and ocean are still changing the contours of continents, fossils are still being preserved in hardening rocks. Some fifty years before, Buffon, the great French naturalist, had estimated that the earth was probably some fifty or seventy-five thousand years old. To this theory Lyell brought proof and even suggested that Buffon's estimate was not great enough. Subsequent geologists have accepted and revised these conclusions. While there is no universal agreement among them concerning the exact age of the earth, they all agree that the earth is at least hundreds of thousands of years old.

The geologists in examining, naming and placing in their appropriate order of formation the various rock strata gave great impetus to the study of fossils. Fossils are the bodies or parts of bodies such as bones or shells of animals or vegetable matter that have become embedded and so preserved in various strata as they gradually hardened. Fossils had, of course, been long observed by man, and the famous Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) had properly characterized them as the remains of older forms of plant and animal life. It was not till the end of the eighteenth century, when the anatomist, Cuvier (1769-1832), proved that many fossils were the remains of plants and animals now extinct, that interest in their study was awakened. By examining the nature of the rock strata in which they are found the student of fossils can estimate the time at which these various animals lived. Consequently they are of vast importance in revealing the ancient history of the earth. Alongside of the remains of men and animals found in the more recent strata, there have been found

stone, copper and bronze tools and weapons, pieces of pottery, fragments of clothing and other evidences of intelligent life. This has given origin to a new science, archaeology, which concerns itself with these evidences of man's early life upon the globe. The archaeologists have pushed back further and further our knowledge of man's history. Their studies not only reveal the intimate details of the life of primitive and uncivilized man, but they have also enabled us to read more accurately the ancient history of the Egyptians and Greeks. Some fifty years ago Egyptian history could be traced back to about 2500 B. C.; now we know that Egypt was the scene of a rather flourishing civilization as early as 5000 B. C. The most famous excavations during the nineteenth century were probably those of Schliemann near the site of ancient Troy, at Cnossus in Crete, and at Mycenae and Tiryns in Greece. In the present century archaeologists have extended their researches to the North and South American continents. They are giving us some knowledge of the character of the Western hemisphere as it was before the coming of Columbus. Similar expeditions have been undertaken in Asia and the interior of Africa. Archaeology and its allied science anthropology are in their infancy and bid fair to add more and more to our knowledge of the world.

EVOLUTION

Even more important than the discoveries of the geologists and archaeologists in revising our ideas of the universe were those of the evolutionists led by Charles Darwin. The theory that all forms of life developed by gradual modification from earlier and simpler forms, which is the essence of evolution, had been suggested as early as the fifth century by the famous Catholic theologian St. Augustine; and, indeed, can be traced in the writings of the ancient Greeks. St. Augustine suggested that God had created all things at the instant of creation, but some of them only "potentially"; that is, they did not actually appear at the instant of creation, but only

when in the fulness of time God had intended that through the slow operation of natural causes they should appear. Toward the end of the eighteenth century Buffon called attention to the many and marked resemblances between man and the animals and suggested the possibility of a common origin. At the opening of the nineteenth century, the French naturalist, Lamarck (1744-1829), announced his belief that "all varieties in the species of animals had been produced by different surroundings and the effect of use and disuse of certain organs." Lamarck published his views just fifty years before Darwin. It was Darwin who first gave a detailed and explicit explanation of evolution, supported by a wealth of material. It was his fortune to focus the attention of the public on the subject and hence we have the prevalent but erroneous idea that Darwinism and evolution are identical.

Charles Darwin was born in 1809. His father and grandfather were naturalists; indeed, his grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, had warmly supported the ideas of Buffon. It is not surprising, then, that the grandson became interested in the same subject. After studying medicine at Edinburgh, only to find it distasteful, he went to Cambridge with the idea of becoming a clergyman. Shortly after graduation he accepted an opportunity to sail as a naturalist on "The Beagle" for a voyage to survey the coasts of South America and the Pacific islands. During the five years of the voyage the youthful naturalist observed the plant and animal life of the places visited, made copious notes, collected specimens. He had as yet no theory concerning the origin of species, but under the spell of Lyell's *Principles of Geology* and Malthus' *Essay on Population* he continued his studies and in reconsidering the vast amount of facts he had accumulated on his voyage the theory of natural selection gradually took shape in his mind. As early as 1846 he made some notes on the origin of species which, however, he did not publish. In 1852, Herbert Spencer, the famous English philosopher, in one of his early essays argued that the entire universe, the earth, plants, animals, and man had developed from natural causes. In 1858, a younger natural-

ist, Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913), afterward the life-long friend of Darwin and ardent champion of his cause, while sick with fever in one of the East Indies, thought out the theory of natural selection, put his ideas on paper and mailed them to Darwin. Darwin was amazed to find the thoughts and even the terminology of Wallace coinciding in almost every detail with his own. He decided to publish simultaneously his own and Wallace's views. The next year, 1859, he put forth his epoch-making book, probably the most important single book published in the nineteenth century, *The Origin of Species*.

We cannot go into a detailed study of the vast field of discussion that was thus launched and is still continuing. However, the fundamentals of Darwin's theory are few and simple. They are that all the diverse and complex forms of plant and animal life have *evolved* in a perfectly natural way from original simple forms or perhaps from one simple form. No two of the offspring of any simple plant or animal are exactly alike; they *vary* in minute details. These slightly differing types as they spread over the face of the earth come in contact with climatic and other conditions that vary widely. In each environment the few *best fitted* to that environment, by their ability to resist heat or cold, drought or dampness, by their ability to find food, by their ability to resist the attacks of stronger types, *survive*; the others die. The survivors reproduce offspring, some of which have in a slightly stronger form the characteristics which enabled their parents to survive. Those whom nature has thus favored survive and breed; their less fit brothers and sisters die. Although the variations in each generation are almost imperceptible, when the process is repeated over countless years,—the fittest surviving and breeding, the less fit dying off,—ultimately the descendants are so different from the original types that new species are evolved.

For a quarter of a century Darwin's natural selection theory, as it is called, swept the field. But as time wore on and numerous biologists began to examine it closely and check up

its details with newly observed and discovered phenomena, the theory was first changed and modified in a number of respects, and in recent years biologists are inclined to reject it as inadequate to explain all the facts. (It may be well to emphasize here that it was Darwin's theory of natural selection, not the general theory of evolution itself, that was rejected.)

We can only briefly indicate a few of the ideas that have caused a modification of Darwin's theory. Followers of Lamarck have differed with the followers of Darwin on the question of the inheritance of acquired characteristics. This question may be briefly illustrated as follows. A race horse, like Man o' War, has natural qualities which make him one of the fastest horses of all time. His speed has been increased by training, conditioning and practice. The question is, would Man o' War's offspring be as fast if he had never been trained? In other words, does Man o' War pass on to his colts his acquired characteristics or only his natural ones? Whether acquired characteristics can be inherited is still undecided by biologists; the majority, however, seem to think that they can not.

An important modification of Darwin's theory has been made by De Vries, a Dutch naturalist, who contributed the theory that at times freaks or "sports" of nature suddenly come into existence without any evident explanation. These "sports" of nature, he argued, transmit their freakish qualities from generation to generation, thus forming a new species and helping to speed up the general process of evolution. This is known as the mutation theory. Probably the greatest modification of Darwin's theory comes as a result of our increased knowledge of heredity. Gregor Mendel, the prelate of a Roman Catholic monastery in Austria, spent a large part of his life in experimenting with the breeding of plants and animals. Although the Mendelian laws were originally published by Mendel himself in the "sixties" of the last century, they were not generally known until they were unearthed about 1900. Bateson, an English biologist, maintains that the findings of Mendel render untenable the natural selection

theory of Darwin, who offered no experimental evidence of the mechanics of evolution.

Enough has been said to indicate the differences of opinion that exist among biologists concerning the "how" of evolution. It is well to keep in mind, however, that the overwhelming weight of all biological investigators is on the side of the evolutionary hypothesis. The details of evolution, the how and why of it, are still matters of investigation. By no means are biologists agreed that all the various species have been evolved from a single simple cell (monophyletic evolution); some incline to this view, while probably the majority accept the idea that the various forms of life have developed from several separate original forms (polyphyletic evolution). No scientist to-day holds that man has developed from the ape, as the popularizers of evolutionary theory suggest, but rather that man and the ape had a common ancestor, man being one branch, the apes and similar animals another branch.

But while we thus take leave of the subject of evolution from the viewpoint of the biologist, as students of history we must still take time to examine the effects of the widespread discussion, both popular and scientific, of this theory. Darwin and Wallace, most ably assisted by Huxley and Spencer in England, Asa Gray in America, Haeckel in Germany, and countless others, succeeded in arousing the interest of the general public in this scientific dispute as to the nature and proof of evolution. The general idea of evolution readily engaged the interest and fancy of man. It is fascinating to conceive of everything as having slowly developed from humble beginnings. The imagination is carried away with the thought of slow, gradual, but sure progress to something better and grander. All science seemed to indicate change, growth, development, progress. Lyell had demonstrated that the earth had gradually achieved its present form. Now Darwin and his successors urged the theory that life in its multiple and complex forms also had been gradually evolved. It was not long before the idea of evolution was applied to every department of human thought and action. Man's ideas, his moral

principles, his religion, were all interpreted as subject to the general principle of evolution. Everything was in a state of flux, changing, progressing, developing. Even truth itself was supposed to evolve and change; one school of philosophy, the Pragmatists, maintaining that truth is anything which man at any time may find to be helpful or workable. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) put forth a series of volumes on education, ethics and sociology in which he proposed to show that the State, the accepted moral code, everything, had gradually evolved. This he called his Synthetic Philosophy, and his writings have had a profound influence in shaping many of the ideas on these subjects that are still current.

CONFLICT OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION

The claims of Lyell and the other geologists that the earth was hundreds of thousands of years old and had slowly developed into its existing form were directly contradictory to the literal Biblical account of creation and stirred up a storm of protest from the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant. This conflict between science and religion was greatly embittered by the development of the evolutionary hypothesis. Some evolutionists, notably Huxley, proclaimed that their theory satisfactorily disproved the existence of God and the spirituality and immortality of the soul, the very foundation of all religion.

Theologians immediately launched a bitter attack upon the advocates of the new ideas and labeled them blasphemers, materialistic, ungodly and pagan. But as the years wore on the tribe of scientists and the number of sciences increased. Further research seemed to push the age of the earth and man further back and to substantiate the conclusions of Darwin and others concerning the gradual evolution of life. Students were not wanting who attacked the Biblical narrative itself as legendary, mythical and human. Ernest Renan, the French *savant*, published a life of Christ (1862) in which he treated him as an ordinary human being, a great moral philosopher

and teacher, not divine and not essentially different from Mohammed, Buddha, or Confucius. The "higher criticism," by researches into Hebrew, oriental languages and comparative religions, took the position that much of the divinely inspired Bible of the Christians was apocryphal, erroneous and little more than a story of the evolution of the moral ideas of the Hebrews. Christ was an incomparable man, not a Divine Redeemer.

The conflict is by no means settled, as is shown by the recent widespread discussion between "Fundamentalists" and "Modernists" in the United States in which the doctrine of evolution was one of the main bones of contention, and which culminated in the passage of a law by the Legislature of Tennessee prohibiting the teaching of evolution in the public schools and the conviction of a teacher after a spectacular trial for a breach of the law. Because of the doctrine of the right of private judgment, and because of the character of its organization, Protestantism has been more divided over scientific questions than has Catholicism. Protestants may be roughly divided into three groups as to their attitude toward science and religion. First, there is a small minority who believe that science and religion are entirely incompatible and who accept science entirely, either ignoring religion or attacking it as unreasonable. Second, there is a much larger group, how large it is impossible to tell, who accept the Bible literally and reject all science. Third, there is another group, doubtless growing in numbers, led both by scientists and clergymen, who believe that science and Christianity are not contradictory and attempt to bring about a reconciliation between the two.

The Catholic Church was in a different position. It denied the doctrine of private judgment and substituted therefor the authority of the Church. Furthermore, it did not rely solely on the Bible but also gave great weight to tradition and the writings of early Christians. In general, it took the attitude that, since God was the Creator and Ruler of the Universe, there could be no conflict between the laws of nature and

the religious system He established. Catholic apologists revived the study of scholasticism, notably the writings of Thomas Aquinas, who, centuries before Darwin, had suggested that Creation might have been carried out by a series of acts on the part of the Creator. Catholic theology gradually adopted the stand that the Darwinian exposition was, after all, a hypothesis, which had been considerably modified by biologists themselves; that, even if evolution were true, it merely explained the origin of man's body, not his soul; and that, so far as man's origin was concerned, the time and place mattered little, so long as the Catholic accepted the doctrine of the creation of the soul of the first man, Adam, as an act of God. The Catholic position was unmistakably fortified by the researches of many Catholic scientists, for example, Pasteur, Mendel, Ampere, Volta, who found no difficulty in reconciling their religion and their science. The Catholic Church, then, stoutly refused to modify its teachings,—the doctrine of the creation of man by God, the fall of man, the redemption by Christ, the true Son of God, the Bible as the inspired word of God, and the Church as His divinely instituted organization through which the sacraments as means of salvation were to be administered to enable man to avoid an eternity in hell, and enjoy a life of everlasting bliss in heaven.

The conflict between science and religion has had important bearings on modern history. The spread of scientific knowledge has undoubtedly done much to produce a general skepticism in religious matters and led to the growth of a spirit of atheism or agnosticism which is characteristic of recent times. The refusal of the Catholic Church to change its position in the face of scientific discoveries has led many intellectuals to oppose it as the enemy of truth and progress. This, combined with the fact that in politics the Catholic Church has sided with the conservatives against the liberal forces working for democracy and nationalism, has led to the formation in most Catholic countries of anti-clerical parties, committed to ending the special privileges which the Church enjoyed, if not to the complete separation of Church and

state. As we shall see, struggles between clericals and anti-clericals have played a large part in the history of most Catholic countries during the past fifty years.

SUMMARY

In concluding this lengthy yet all too brief review of the progress and effects of natural science, the following facts stand out: 1. In all fields of investigation there has been astonishing and tremendous progress; a number of new sciences have been born. 2. Many useful theories have been formulated, accepted as true for a while, and then discarded either completely or partially. 3. The applied scientist has knit the world together, making it an economic unit; he has given us artificial foods and materials that nature takes a long time in producing; he enables us to harness the forces of nature and uses them to do man's work; the scientist has solved many problems that have baffled man and he is busy working at the solution of others. 4. Science has created a different manner of living, which in turn has inevitably influenced our habits and thought and has led to the origin of many of our political and economic problems. 5. As yet the scientist gives no definite answer to the questions, What is electricity? What is matter? What is life? It is abundantly clear that the surface has only been scratched, and facts of all kinds are still awaiting discovery. 6. Lastly, it is important to keep in mind the larger lessons that we can learn from the habits and methods of the scientist.

He expresses no judgment till all the evidence is in, and then his conviction is not determined by passion or prejudice or past beliefs or party affiliations, but by the facts before him. His mind is open to new light, new truths, to demonstrations of new facts. Unfortunately, most scientists themselves find it difficult to carry this spirit out of their own special fields; not infrequently some scientists close their minds to new ideas in other branches of human activity. But none the less, in his own sphere, the scientist gives us a model to imitate that is

far different from that of the average statesman whose opinion on tariff or immigration is determined not by a calm and impartial examination of the facts, but by preconceptions, prejudices that blind his intellect and blunt his judgment. And the world suffers.

The scientists, more than any other group of thinkers, are able to throw aside their prejudices, open their minds, eliminate the "personal equation." They are frank to admit the existence of a personal equation in their observations and deductions. This is because they know the limitations of the human mind, and they stand in all humility examining the myriad wonders of nature, knowing full well that the last word has not been said. Recently a scientist, in announcing an experiment, said that it was so important and epoch-making that it required verification by other experimenters. It is hard to imagine a statesman, a philosopher, a business man, an economist, the average person adopting a similar attitude. Opinions, thoughts, judgments are expressed most unhesitatingly on the widest variety of subjects with all of which we can scarcely be reasonably familiar. Yet, not only do we not ask for verification, we resent the imputation that our reasoning may be illogical, or our thought and opinion contrary to recorded facts. For centuries the scientist has been unfolding the secrets of nature, and revolutionizing the world. Newton would not understand the physics of to-day; nor would Dalton comprehend the modifications of his atomic theory; Warren would be out of place in the modern operating room of the Massachusetts General Hospital; yet even the ancient Aristotle would not find it impossible to discuss the latest work on philosophy or government. The scientist has far outstripped the rest of the world in the power, vigor and keenness of his thought. He has the courage to open his mind, and modify his opinions and theories in accordance with the observed facts. If the scientist could induce thinkers in other fields to go about a solution of problems as he does it is not improbable that this contribution of method and spirit would ultimately add more to the world's peace and comfort, happi-

ness and prosperity, than his gift of the steam engine, the dynamo, electric-light or telephone.

TIME TABLE OF SCIENCE

(This list is suggestive rather than exhaustive. It should also be noted that in many instances several others contributed greatly to the establishment of facts and theories here attributed to a single worker.)

<i>Scientist</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Main Accomplishment</i>
Copernicus.....	1473-1543.....	Heliocentric theory of universe.
Brahe.....	1546-1601.....	Astronomical instruments.
Kepler	1571-1630.....	Tracing planetary orbits.
Galileo	1564-1642.....	Improved telescope. Law of velocity of falling bodies.
Vesalius.....	1514-1564.....	Anatomy. Began practice of dissection.
Mercator.....	1512-1594.....	Projection in map making.
Napier	1550-1617.....	Logarithms.
Bacon.....	1561-1626.....	New Scientific method.
Descartes.....	1596-1660.....	New Scientific method—Analytic Geometry.
Toricelli.....	1608-1647.....	Barometer.
Leuwenhoek	1632-1723.....	Microscope.
Newton	1642-1727.....	Law of gravity.
Leibnitz	1646-1716.....	Calculus.
Boyle.....	1627-1691.....	Compressibility of gases.
Priestley.....	1733-1804.....	Discovered oxygen.
Lavoisier.....	1743-1797.....	Explained combustion—Chemical Nomenclature
Linnaeus.....	1707-1778.....	Botany. Classification of plants.
Buffon.....	1707-1788.....	Description of plants and animals.
Galvani.....	1737-1788.....	Electricity. Battery.
Volta.....	1745-1827.....	Battery.
Rumford (Ben. Thompson)	1752-1814.....	Heat a form of energy.
Davy.....	1778-1829.....	Isolated several elements, e. g., sodium and potassium. Miners safety lamp.
Faraday.....	1791-1867.....	Electro-chemistry. Dynamo.
Dalton.....	1766-1844.....	Atomic theory.
Lyell.....	1797-1875.....	Geology. New theory of antiquity of earth.
Bunsen	1811-1899.....	Gas analysis. Spectroscope.
Kirchoff	1827-1887.....	Spectroscope.

<i>Scientist</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Main Accomplishment</i>
Kelvin (Wm. Thompson)	1824-1907.....	Electrical transmission. Atlantic cable. Conservation of energy.
von Helmholtz.....	1821-1891.....	Theory of the conservation of energy. Acoustics.
Schleiden.....	1804-1888.....	Cell theory.
Schwann	1810-1882.....	Cell theory.
Pasteur.....	1822-1895.....	Bacteriology.
Koch	1843-1910.....	Tuberculosis bacillus.
Warren.....	1778-1856.....	First public use of ether as anaesthetic.
Lister.....	1827-1912.....	Antiseptic surgery.
Lamarck.....	1744-1829.....	Evolutionary theories.
Darwin.....	1809-1882.....	Evolution. Theory of natural selection.
DeVries.....	1848-	Evolution. Mutation theory.
Mendel.....	1827-1884.....	Laws of heredity.
Maxwell.....	1831-1879.....	Electro-magnetic wave theory, <i>i. e.</i> , all radiant energy is electro-magnetic in nature.
Röntgen.....	1845-	X-ray.
Curie.....	1859-1906.....	Radio-active substances.
Mme. Curie.....	1867-	Isolated radium.
Rutherford E.....	1871-	Radio-activity.
Thomson, J. J.....	1856-	Radio-activity. Electrical theory of inertia.
Mosely.....	1889-1915.....	X-ray spectra determination of atomic numbers, <i>i. e.</i> , net electric charge on nucleus of atom.
Langley.....	1834-1906.....	Aero dynamics. First successful airplane flight.
Edison.....	1847-	Electrical appliances.
Marconi.....	1874-	Wireless telegraphy.
Steinmetz.....	1865-1825.....	Theory and practice of electric power transmission.
Einstein	1879-	Theory of relativity revolutionizing concept of time and space.

CHAPTER IX

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

As a result of the Industrial Revolution labor became more clearly recognized as a distinct social class. The growing consciousness of working men and women that they had common interests and the strength to protect them led to the formation of various workers' organizations. These organizations and their activities constitute what is known as the labor movement.

Although the Industrial Revolution created a vast amount of new wealth it at first brought misery rather than happiness to the workers. The new machines turned out goods so rapidly that, until the cheaper prices brought the demand up to the increased supply, many men were thrown out of work. With several bidding for the same job wages were low and the hours of labor long. Most factories were unsanitary, poorly lighted and poorly ventilated. The hand-loom weavers and others who tried to compete with the machines were even worse off than the factory workers.

It was in England that machine manufacture started, that great fortunes were first made from the factory system. It was in England that the workers sank to the lowest levels of poverty and degradation. To eke out a living the wives and children of the workers went into the factories. Here they were welcomed, as little strength or skill was necessary to operate many of the machines and, of course, their wages were lower than those of men. Children five and six years old worked beside their mothers on an average of thirteen hours a day and sometimes sixteen or seventeen. Competition became so keen for cheap child labor that shrewd employers

arranged with church wardens and overseers of the poor to take groups of orphan or destitute children as apprentices. They were housed, often amid unsanitary and immoral conditions, in barracks built near the factories. To keep children so young at their tasks, or even awake, flogging was a matter of course. England was rearing a new generation, undernourished, unhealthy, ignorant and depraved.

Manufacturers justified the system on the grounds that if the children were not given a chance to work they would starve, and that they were being taught habits of thrift instead of idleness. Even those who admitted the horror of conditions saw no way out. Manufacturers found a theoretical basis for their opposition to all attempts to improve the conditions of the workers in the economic doctrines generally accepted at the time. We have already told how under the leadership of Adam Smith, Mercantilism was displaced by *laissez faire* or individualism. The doctrine of individualism was based on the theory of natural rights which Locke and the French philosophers had preached so convincingly as to make it generally accepted at the time. Prominent among the rights with which man was supposed to have been endowed by his creator were those of liberty and property. To restrict a man's liberty to make money as he pleased or to do what he wished with his own property, was not only inexpedient but downright wicked. The new science with its universal natural laws had also taken a powerful hold on the popular imagination. The classical economists, as the followers of Smith are usually called, declared that just as the universe was held together by gravity, so human society was held together by natural forces. Just as the law of gravitation explained the workings of the universal force, gravity, so natural laws of economics, if they could be discovered, would explain the workings of human society. A group of men starting from Smith's general principles set themselves the task of discovering these laws, and so diligently did they work that Smith's ideas were elaborated into a body of doctrines destined to be the basis of most economic thinking for

a century. Foremost among these classical economists were Malthus, Ricardo and James Mill.

The concrete program of the individualists may be summed up in three demands: (1) The state should not restrict foreign trade either by taxes or other regulations; (2) The state should not interfere between buyer and seller; (3) The state should not interfere between employer and employee. As a corollary to the third demand, labor unions were to be prohibited on the ground that they interfered with the liberty of both the employer and the employee. To the last two demands but little opposition was found, either in England or elsewhere. Against the first, however, the English landlords, who benefited by the protective tariff on grain and who were strongly intrenched in parliament, presented so strong a defense that it was not realized until the middle of the nineteenth century.

The individualistic theories were, of course, not the cause of the misery of the workers. Economic theories are usually the results, not the causes, of economic facts. Unemployment, child labor, long hours, low wages and unsanitary factories were a natural result of the development of machinery and of the factory system. Nevertheless, the theories of the individualists helped to perpetuate the evils. Economic necessity was the basis for most of the arguments against improving conditions. It was claimed that if the natural economic law, that the employer should hire the cheapest labor possible, were broken, business would be ruined, factories would close and a return to primitive conditions would be inevitable. *Laissez faire* individualism, although weakened and modified by attacks from many sources, played an important part in the world's thinking throughout the nineteenth century. One need only read the report of a congressional hearing on a child labor bill or the testimony of a railroad president before a government board to realize the important place individualism occupies in the minds of many people in our own country today.

The individualists did not long go unchallenged. The

workers soon began to realize that the liberty which the capitalists preached practically meant the liberty of the strong and intelligent to exploit the weak and ignorant. Dissatisfied with the gloomy prospect that faced the great mass of men, ground down by inexorable, unchangeable laws, various thinkers began to search for a way out. One by one the laws of the classical economists were attacked, even the fundamental one of the right to private property. All sorts of schemes for regenerating society were developed. In so far as these schemes appealed to the workers and inspired them to activity in their own behalf they have been influential in improving conditions, for, although economists, philanthropists, social workers, churchmen, statesmen and politicians have all played a part, the workers have mainly themselves to thank for the improvement made in their condition during the last century. Theories have helped, but here again economic necessity has played the main part. Bad conditions have led the workers to organize; theories have served as a justification rather than a cause for their activities.

TRADE UNIONISM

We will first discuss the trade-union movement, which has been one of the most important of labor's weapons, and then take up socialism and other forms of working class organization. A labor union may be defined as a "continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives." The terms trade union and labor union are often used interchangeably. Strictly speaking, a trade union is an organization of workers of one trade or craft, while a labor union may be an organization of all the workers in an industry or locality. Nearly all English unions are trade unions, while many French unions are industrial unions,—including all classes of workers in the industry in one organization. Although there are records of temporary organizations of workers, and of strikes, as far back as the ancient Egyptians, there were no permanent organiza-

tions until the eighteenth century, when the capitalist entrepreneur appeared in industry and the workman no longer had a direct financial interest in his labor. The medieval guilds were organizations of master workmen, sometimes admitting journeymen, formed for the purpose of regulating the entire industry and keeping down competition; they had little resemblance to the modern labor union. The Industrial Revolution, in drawing large bodies of workmen together in factories and putting the control of the industry entirely in the hands of the factory owner, gave such a strong impetus to unionism that the labor movement may be said to really have begun at that time.

The main purpose of a labor union is to raise wages and shorten hours of work. Its method is collective bargaining,—agreeing on a program of wages and hours and attempting to get this program adopted for all members. As a means of making their bargaining effective unions usually try to get the “closed shop,” that is an agreement that only union men shall be employed. The union’s main weapon is the strike, a stoppage of work by all concerned to enforce their demands. Trade-unionism is not necessarily revolutionary, that is, it does not necessarily involve any desire to change the existing economic or social system. It does not necessarily involve the use of political methods. It is only in the last twenty years that trade unionists in England have turned to socialism or gone into politics in large numbers as a distinct group. In the United States today the great majority of trade unionists are satisfied with the existing economic system and wish only to improve their position under it. Although their voting strength gives them important political strength, they have steadfastly opposed the formation of a labor party and favor a policy of rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies through the old parties. On the other hand, on the continent of Europe trade unions have from their beginning been closely identified with socialism, using the socialist party and the trade union as two means to the same end,—the abolition of the capitalist system.

Since England was the first country to introduce the factory system, naturally unionism started there. The first years of the union movement were mainly a struggle for existence. At the beginning of the nineteenth century labor unions were prohibited by law throughout Europe. In England the common law made any combination in restraint of trade illegal; and agreements among workers to demand higher wages or shorter hours were held to be such illegal combinations. In addition there were various specific acts prohibiting organizations of labor, the most drastic of which was that of 1801, which made imprisonment at hard labor the penalty for any combination among workers. In 1824, largely through the efforts of Francis Place, a London tailor and one of the first great English labor leaders, all the specific acts against labor unions were repealed. Although the next year employers, becoming alarmed at the sweeping provisions of the act, secured considerable modification of it, organizations of workmen to determine wages and hours were from that time legal. Associations of workers for other purposes than fixing wages and hours were still held to be conspiracies under the common law. There was an immediate increase in the number of unions, but the business depression that started in 1826 checked this growth and throughout the thirties workers turned to Chartism and other political activities to improve their condition.

The early unions had been almost entirely organizations of men of the same trade living in one locality. In the period of prosperity that followed the repeal of the corn laws in the forties, local unions developed rapidly and the movement for federation began. National federations of local unions in the same trade and also trade councils or assemblies, federations of all trades in the same city or locality, were formed. In 1864 a National Trade Union Congress was held in London, a meeting which, after a few years, became an annual event. Although the Congress has no control over internal policies of the unions, each national union being autonomous, the declarations of the Congress are looked upon as the authoritative

opinions of British labor. A Parliamentary Committee, replaced in 1921 by a General Council, is maintained to watch over labor's interests in parliament.

The political power of the trade unionists was greatly strengthened by the reform bill of 1867, which gave the vote to practically all workingmen in the boroughs, and, as a result, a series of acts was passed from 1871 to 1876 which put unions in a much stronger legal position. These acts declared that the provisions of the common law against conspiracies should not apply to trade unions. They further provided that trade unions, if officially registered, should have the same privileges and immunities as were guaranteed to friendly and provident societies; that no person should be prosecuted for committing an act as a member of a union which would not be illegal if committed by him as an individual; that trade unions should have full rights to hold property and accumulate funds; and that no suit might be brought to enforce a contract between a union and its members or between different unions. These acts gave unionism in England a stronger legal position than it had in any other country, stronger, in fact, than in most countries even today. This position has been further strengthened by recent legislation made necessary by court decisions which threatened to deprive unions of much that they had gained.

In 1901 the Taff Vale Railway Co. was awarded damages against the railway workers' union, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, for conducting a strike in which employees of the company were persuaded to break their contracts and in which property of the company was destroyed. Greatly to the surprise of labor the House of Lords, which is the highest court of appeal in England, upheld the decision. Had this decision been allowed to stand the trade union movement would have been crippled indeed, but one of the first acts of the liberal government when it came into power in 1906 was to pass, in conjunction with the labor members, the Trade Disputes Act. This act made more explicit the previous provision that no act of a union was illegal unless the

same act was illegal if performed by an individual, specifically legalized peaceful picketing and forbade any court to entertain any civil action against a trade union official for any act done by or in behalf of a union.

Another decision adverse to labor grew out of the practice of certain trade unions of paying salaries to members of parliament out of union funds,—a practice which was necessary if working men were to sit in parliament, since up to 1911 the state paid no salaries to members. In 1909 a member of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, Osborne by name, secured a judgment against his union prohibiting it from using its funds to pay a member of parliament. The Trade Union Act of 1913 nullified the decision by providing that a trade union might use its funds for political purposes, provided a majority of the members of the union approved of the purpose.

During the past forty years a great change has come over British trade unionism. Until 1880 unions were confined largely to skilled workers who had little sense of solidarity with other groups, especially the great body of unskilled workers. These unions of skilled workers were for the most part conservative. They merely desired to strengthen their position in the capitalist system and had no thought of abolishing that system. Then in the eighties socialistic ideas began to get a foothold. Unionists began to talk not merely of increasing wages but of overthrowing the wage system. Unionism began to spread to unskilled workers, such as the London gas workers and dock workers. Unions of women workers became more numerous and more powerful. Several important strikes were won by unions only just organized and without funds by an appeal to public opinion and by the help of other unions. Labor was becoming class conscious. British trade unions continued to grow in numbers and in influence up to the outbreak of the World War. The history of labor's political activities will be considered in a later chapter on British politics.

In considering the labor movement in France we must re-

member that France is essentially a nation of small farmers, a class that is fundamentally conservative and whose interests differ in many ways from those of the city workers. Therefore organized labor has never played so important a part in France as in England. Its relative weakness partly accounts for French labor being more radical in its aims, French unions having been dominated by socialists almost from the beginning.

Labor unions were prohibited by the National Assembly in 1791 and this prohibition was continued by later governments until 1884. Until about 1860 the few unions that existed secretly were unimportant, but after this time the law was not enforced and several unions were formed. In 1876 the first French labor congress was held at Paris and two years later at Marseilles the congress declared for socialism and assumed the name Socialist Labor Congress. During the last quarter of the century the union movement was confused by the strife between the various socialist factions which were trying to gain control of it. A further complicating factor was the rise of syndicalism, which attracted so many unionists that in 1894 the labor congress passed a resolution endorsing the general strike, and the majority of political socialists withdrew. The next year the *Confederation General de Travail* (General Federation of Labor) was formed, which, in 1901, definitely committed itself to the program of syndicalism. Although the C. G. T. has repeated its revolutionary declarations, its action has been more moderate than its words. It included in 1914 only about one-half the organized workers of France and only about one-twentieth of the workingmen of the country, nine-tenths of the workers being entirely unorganized.

In Germany unionism started late, due to the lateness of the Industrial Revolution, but developed rapidly. From the beginning it was closely identified with socialism, non-socialist unions forming only a small minority. At the outbreak of the World War there were more than two million workers enrolled in the Social Democratic unions besides about one-

half million in minor groups. Trade-unionism was recognized by law and the movement was strong, united and growing. In many parts of Germany employers accepted unionism and cooperated with the unions, but in the iron and steel industries of west Prussia a group of powerful employers opposed them and were doing all in their power to break them up.

Trade-unionism in Italy, as in Germany, developed late and was closely allied with socialism, although besides the socialist unions there were Catholic unions and syndicalist unions similar to those of France. Altogether the organized workers numbered less than a million in 1914. In the other countries of Europe the strength of trade-unionism was proportional to the extent to which the country had become industrialized. Practically everywhere unions were legalized and the movement was growing steadily in 1914. In 1901 the International Federation of Trade Unions was formed. It held periodic conferences for the discussion of common problems and the interchange of opinion. In 1912 it had over 7,000,000 unionists affiliated.

Local unions of artisans had been formed in the United States early in the century and with the growth of machine industry in the thirties unionism spread rapidly among the workers. The continual emigration of workers to the cheap lands of the West and their replacement by foreign immigrants, however, handicapped the movement. For two decades before the Civil War most of labor's energies were spent in agitation for the Homestead Act,—the granting of farms free to those who would settle on them. City federations of unions and some national federations of unions in the same trade were made before the Civil War. The first organization to attempt to bind all unions into one national organization was the Knights of Labor, formed in 1869. It was organized on a local basis, taking into one organization all workers in a locality, skilled and unskilled, regardless of race, color or creed. Because of the opposition to all unionism, it was at first a secret organization. For a time it exercised

considerable influence, but suffered from the opposition roused against all organized labor by the violence of the mine and railway strikes of the seventies. After an attempt at affiliation with the farmers in the Peoples Party it gradually disappeared.

The American Federation of Labor, formed in 1881 and reorganized in 1886, was a federation of national trade unions which were made up of local trade unions. It grew steadily but slowly, until in 1914 it had over two million dues-paying members. Its membership has been confined mainly to the skilled trades, and under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, who was president almost continuously from 1882 till his death in 1924, it held to a conservative policy. Except in the campaign of 1924, when it endorsed LaFollette, the progressive candidate for president, it has steadfastly refused to participate in politics directly. The strong railway brotherhoods and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a radical union which has a practical monopoly in the men's clothing industry, have never affiliated with the A. F. of L. The Industrial Workers of the World, commonly known as the I.W.W., a radical organization modeled after the syndicates of France, advocating direct action and sabotage, has had considerable success in organizing the migratory workers of the western mines, lumber camps and harvest fields but has never been numerically important. Great industries such as the steel and automobile and the great number of salespeople and clerks in retail stores are practically unorganized.

The first effect of the World War on the unions everywhere was in most cases a lowering of standards. Under the pressure of national necessity many hard-won concessions as to hours and working conditions had to be given up. The calling of so many unionists to the colors made necessary the employment of non-unionists in many trades that had long enjoyed the closed shop. In the long run, however, unionism was strengthened by the war. The shortage of labor made it easy for the workers to get their demands. Wages rose. Never was labor more prosperous. Membership in the Inter-

national Federation grew to 23,000,000 in 1920, although the American Federation of Labor had withdrawn.

As the unions grew in strength they began to concern themselves with questions other than those of hours and wages. The demand for a voice in the industry became common and willingness to accept greater responsibility for standards and output was marked. In the depression that has existed in Europe since 1920 labor has lost ground. Union membership has fallen off greatly but is still larger than before the war. Hard times have tended to make labor clearer as to its own position, more definite in its demands and more radical.

The American Federation of Labor reached its highest membership, over 4,000,000, in 1920. The unions suffered in the business depression that followed and also from the anti-"red" hysteria that swept over the country. During this period several of the large employers' associations, seeing an opportunity to put labor back "in its place," started a concerted drive for the open shop, the right to employ men regardless of union affiliation,—which meant, in most cases, the employment of only non-union men. In spite of these setbacks the Federation reported a membership of 3,303,000 in 1926.

The revolution of 1918 gave a great impetus to trade-unionism in Germany. The socialist unions had in 1919 a membership of over 7,000,000 and Catholic and other unions raised the total to 13,000,000, representing more than half of Germany's total population. The unions were instrumental in winning the universal eight-hour day in Germany, which, however, in many cases has been ignored due to the disorganized economic conditions in Germany and the pressure upon her for reparations payments.

In France the C. G. T. grew from 600,000 to 2,400,000 in 1920, besides strong allied bodies of civil servants, engineers and intellectual workers. An attempted general strike in 1920, which ended disastrously and was followed by the legal dissolution of the C. G. T., crippled the movement. The reorganized C. G. T. was further weakened by attacks of employers and the withdrawal of many communists who

favored a more radical policy, so that by 1926 it numbered only about 750,000 members.

In England, mother of trade-unionism, occurred, during the war, the greatest growth in labor's strength. Besides an expansion of organizations of skilled workers, many unskilled workers were organized into "general workers'" unions, the unionization of agricultural laborers gained headway and also the unionization of the "black-coated" proletariat into clerical and intellectual workers' unions. Prominent among the latter was the National Union of Teachers, with a membership of over 100,000. There was also a general amalgamation of unions into larger and more powerful bodies. The Trades-Union Congress in 1920 represented 6,500,000 unionists, with many others cooperating though not directly affiliated. In the depression that followed the war-time boom England, being the country most dependent on foreign trade, has suffered most and labor has suffered proportionately. There have been many long and bitterly fought strikes in which labor has barely held its own. The "Triple Alliance" of miners, railwaymen and transport workers, the most powerful groups in the country, was broken up in 1921 by the failure of the railway and transport men to support the miners in a strike. Membership in unions affiliated with the Trades-Union Congress dropped to 4,500,000 in 1926.

The difficult position of labor and its growing solidarity is well illustrated by the so-called general strike which occurred in England in 1926. Due to the general industrial depression and the consequent lessened demand for British coal both for domestic purposes and for export, the coal industry had been in sore straits for several years. The poorer mines were running at a loss. There were more mines than necessary, so that work was irregular. Various commissions had been appointed and various plans submitted for reorganizing the industry, but none proved acceptable to all parties. A strike in 1922 ended inconclusively and another was averted in the summer of 1925 only by the government's granting a subsidy to enable the operators to keep up wages until some scheme for reorganiza-

tion could be worked out. No agreement seemed imminent, but the government announced that the subsidy would end May 1, 1926. The miners, faced by a cut in their wages, which at the time averaged only from eleven to fifteen dollars per week, struck. The Trade Union Congress, sympathizing with the miners and realizing that a cut in miners' wages would probably lead to similar cuts in other trades, voted to call a sympathetic strike of large groups of organized workers.

The government proclaimed the Emergency Powers Act, a law giving the government dictatorial powers in a crisis, in force and called for volunteers to provide for necessities. Labor declared that this was an unnecessary gesture since workers engaged in providing the necessities of life had not been called out. At any rate, the food supply was maintained and a few trains and buses operated, but for nine days industry was completely paralyzed. The government asserted that the strike was a strike against the government and was really a revolution. While some of the radical leaders would doubtless have welcomed revolution, the conservatives who controlled the Trade Union Congress were as much opposed to violent methods as was the government itself. The orderliness of the strike was a fine example of British level-headedness. Stanley Baldwin, the prime minister, insisted from the start that the strike must be called off unconditionally before anything was done about the miners' problem and this the executive committee of the Congress finally did, but only after they had received unofficial assurances that the government would enforce terms that seemed fair to the union leaders. In the end neither the miners nor the operators were satisfied with the government's terms and the coal strike continued. It was finally settled in November, when the Miners' Federation authorized the local unions to negotiate district settlements. This was a defeat for the miners, many districts being forced to accept cuts in wages.

On the whole the general strike was a failure because business conditions were against the men. The government took advantage of the situation to stir up as much feeling against

labor as possible. One result was the introduction by the government and passage in the summer of 1927 of a trades-disputes bill making illegal all sympathetic strikes or strikes for a political purpose, practically forbidding picketing by prohibiting any act which may "cause in the mind of a person a reasonable apprehension of injury," and prohibiting the use of trade-union funds for political purposes without the specific consent of each individual trade-unionist. The bill was bitterly fought by the labor party, by most of the Liberals and by many employers. Vague and ambiguous as it is, it strikes a blow at the fundamentals of trade-unionism. Whether it means the end of trade-unionism as an effective force in British life or the return of labor to power remains to be seen.

SOCIALISM

Socialism is a word much misused and much misunderstood. It has meant different things at different times and in different countries at the same time. It is difficult, therefore, to give any but a very general definition. One that most people who call themselves socialists would probably agree upon is that socialism is a system of collective ownership and democratic management of the socially necessary means of production and distribution, together with democratic control of the distribution of the social income. Socialism does not mean dividing up all wealth, nor the abolition of all private property. It would leave to private ownership such consumption goods as houses for the owners' own use, furniture, clothing, etc. Although there are traces of socialistic ideas in writers from Plato down, modern socialism is a product of the Industrial Revolution.

One of the first men to use the term socialism was Robert Owen, a Welshman, who, starting as an apprentice in a cotton factory, became in 1800 part owner and manager of cotton factories in New Lanark, Scotland, employing over two thousand men, women and children. Impressed with the misery of his employees, he started reforms which resulted in

model factories with light, sanitary workrooms, working hours reduced from seventeen to ten per day and no child under ten employed. He built model dwellings for his workers, established welfare work and started schools. Owen's solution of the problem was to persuade other employers to follow his example until all England, and in time the world, should be covered with similar model communities. All his efforts, however, to gain converts among the capitalists of his time were futile. The cooperative colonies which he established at New Harmony, Indiana, and at Orbiston, Scotland, where profit was to be eliminated by the abolition of money and the use of labor notes, representing the actual amount of labor expended in producing a commodity, both ended in failure. While Owen's ideas of reorganizing society bore little fruit except in the cooperative movement, of which we will speak later, the impetus which he gave to labor legislation and to education, and his unselfish use of his really remarkable talents for the benefit of the workers, give him an important place in the history of the labor movement.

At about the same time that Owen was experimenting in England, various French writers were attacking the institution of private property. Most important among them were Saint Simon and Fourier, each of whom worked out elaborate plans for the reorganization of society. Although each of them built up a considerable following of disciples who elaborated their doctrines and attempted to put them into practice, nothing concrete came of their schemes. These early writers and reformers all advocated social ownership in some form or other and are therefore called socialists, although they would hardly be recognized as such today. Although differing in details, they all advocated the establishment of model communities or utopias, and are therefore called the Utopians. They differed from modern socialists also in that they appealed mainly to the educated and well-to-do classes, on grounds of justice and morality, to improve the condition of the workers, and not to the workers to help themselves.

In the thirties in France Louis Blanc, taking advantage of

the dissatisfaction with the illiberal government of Louis Philippe, began preaching that a mere change in government would be of little benefit to the workers. His main theory was that everyone had the right to profitable employment and that it was the duty of the state to provide it. He advocated the establishment by government funds of national workshops in which the worker would receive the entire value of his product. Although his ideas were less original than those of Saint Simon or Fourier, his plan was so simple that he gained a large following among the Parisian workmen and helped bring about the revolution of 1848. Blanc was the leader of the first real labor party in Europe. His ideas marked a transition from the Utopians to the "scientific" socialism of Marx.

The founder of modern socialism is Karl Marx, a German of a middle-class family of Jewish descent. Having received a doctor's degree in philosophy and history from the University of Jena in 1841, he became the editor of a newspaper in which he attacked the autocratic Prussian government so severely that he was exiled from Prussia and went to Paris. Here he met a group of radicals interested in economic and social questions, among them Louis Blanc, Friedrich Engels, who cooperated with him in some of his later writings, and Proudhon and Bakunin, the founders of anarchism. His writings were too radical for the bourgeois government of Louis Philippe and he was invited to leave France. After a few years spent in Brussels, he took up his residence in England, where he remained until his death in 1883. Marx's principal works are the *Communist Manifesto*, published in collaboration with Engels in 1848 as a charter for a workingmen's association in Brussels, and *Das Kapital*, an extensive work in four volumes on which he spent the last twenty years of his life. His writings are voluminous and his style not always clear, so that those attempting to work out a detailed plan according to his ideas often disagree as to the meaning of certain passages. This helps to explain why there are so many

different ideas as to details among socialists, all of whom claim to be disciples of Marx.

Marx's main ideas may be summed up briefly as follows: (1) Economic determinism. The most important factors in determining action, either individual or social, are economic. (2) The class struggle. All history is a history of struggles between different social classes, one class gaining power and exploiting the lower class until it in turn is ousted from power and exploited by another. At present, due to the Industrial Revolution, the bourgeoisie have displaced the landlords as the ruling class and exploit the propertyless workers, the proletariat. (3) Surplus value. The workers receive as wages only the amount necessary for bare existence, although they produce more goods than are necessary for this purpose. The difference between the amount paid to the workers and the amount which the capitalist gets for the goods produced is what Marx calls surplus value, the source of the capitalist's profits. The proletariat, if it is to be free, must overthrow the capitalists and take for itself the full value of the commodities created by its labor. (4) Concentration of capital and increasing misery of the proletariat. The absorption of the small capitalist by the great trust; the periodic crises caused by overproduction with resultant unemployment and misery; the constant addition to the ranks of the proletariat from the rural population, the independent artisan and the small capitalist; all these features of the existing system will be intensified as time goes on, the proletariat will become more and more miserable, until at last in desperation it will seize from the capitalist the means of production and distribution. This seizure of power by the proletariat is not an ideal to be aimed at, but an inevitable result of the capitalist system, which contains in itself the germ of its own destruction.

Marx called himself a communist, since the term socialist was commonly applied to the Utopians, whom he looked upon as sentimental philanthropists. He offered no Utopia to be brought about by arousing the sympathy of altruistic bour-

geois but claimed to show by scientific processes that the same laws which led to the establishment of the capitalist system would bring about its downfall. Although the outcome was inevitable, the sooner the workers realized their position and their power and prepared themselves for their responsibilities, the sooner would the revolution come about. He appealed directly to the workers, therefore, in the *Communist Manifesto*, to organize themselves and to work for the establishment of reforms which would be steps toward the communist state. The closing words of the Manifesto, "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!" have been the slogan of socialists ever since.

Marx was not explicit as to how the final change was to be brought about. He nowhere advocates violence, although he nowhere directly disapproves of it. He emphasizes the importance of political action and evidently intended that the revolution should be brought about by the workers gaining control of the government through the ballot. The word "revolution" as used by Marx and other socialists has often been misinterpreted. In the sense in which socialists use it, it means merely the change from private to collective ownership, not implying violence or even the use of extra-legal methods.

As a means of promoting socialism Marx was instrumental in organizing in 1864 the International Workingman's Association, usually known as the First International. This association, with its branches or sections in various countries, was designed to facilitate the interchange of ideas through international conferences, to guide the various national movements along similar lines and to promote international solidarity. It adopted Marx's teachings and was the beginning of the supremacy of Marxian ideas among political organizations of workers. It held annual meetings until 1873, when internal dissensions between Marxians and anarchist followers of Bakunin, the resurgence of nationalism due to the Franco-Prussian War and the disfavor into which socialism fell as a

result of the excesses of the Paris Commune of 1871, combined to break up the organization. The governments of Europe, which had feared the International far more than its strength warranted, were greatly relieved by its suspension, believing it to be the end of socialism. Socialists, however, turned their attention to their national organizations and the movement, freed from centralized control, developed according to varying conditions in the different countries.

In all these national parties there have been two distinct groups, a right and a left wing. Both factions have accepted Marx's doctrines and have agreed as to the ultimate aim of socialism,—the substitution of public for private ownership of the means of production and distribution. They have disagreed mainly as to the means to be used in bringing this end about. The left wing or "Marxists" have stood for a literal interpretation of Marx, insisting that the all-important thing was to keep always in mind the final revolution. While working for the democratization of government and freedom of speech and press, they have been indifferent to such reforms as social insurance, factory laws and minimum wage laws, sometimes even opposing them on the ground that they were mere palliatives designed to keep the workers quiet and distract them from fundamental changes. They have consistently opposed cooperation with bourgeois parties and have stood firmly against imperialism and increase of armaments. Some of them, discouraged by the apparent indifference of the masses to their teachings and despairing of bringing about the revolution by gaining control of the government through the ballot, have turned toward the syndicalists, favoring direct action and advocating a seizure of power, to be followed by a dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the suppression of all opposition until the workers' government is thoroughly established.

The right wing, variously called Revisionists, Reformists, Possibilists or Moderates, have insisted in the words of Bernstein, the German Revisionist leader, that "the movement is everything, the goal is nothing." In other words, they be-

lieved that, while keeping the goal of complete socialization of the means of production and distribution in view, they should concentrate their efforts on getting immediate reforms, such as extension of suffrage to all men and women, complete freedom of press and speech, increased responsibility of government to the people, high direct taxes on land and incomes, public ownership of forests, mines, railroads and other public utilities, protection of woman and child labor, and social insurance. To promote such reforms they have been willing to cooperate with bourgeois parties. While opposing militarism they have not always opposed the acquisition of colonies or the increase of armaments and have often been strongly nationalistic. They have insisted that the revolution must come step by step in a legal way through the gradual education and winning over of the voters.

These two groups could be found in every country. Sometimes a definite split came between them; usually they were opposing factions in the same party. Up to the outbreak of the World War, the right wing or reformist element seemed to be gaining. In most countries they were in control of the party machinery and even where they were not the socialist policy was moderate. The Second International was formed in 1889. This was a federation of national socialist parties formed on the lines of the First International, but having merely advisory powers and not attempting to control the policy of the national parties as the first had done. Periodic conferences were held up to the outbreak of the war and most of the resolutions and declarations adopted were of a definitely reformist tone. The whole complexion of affairs was changed, however, when the Russian Bolsheviks came into power in November, 1917, and proceeded to reorganize the Russian government and social system according to what they considered to be strict Marxian principles.

The *Communist Manifesto* said: "The workers have no country. What they have not got cannot be taken from them." Socialism has always emphasized internationalism and opposed international war on the grounds that it was caused

by capitalists for their own benefit and brought nothing but suffering to the workers. At several meetings the Second International debated the socialist attitude toward war. It voted that socialists should use every effort to prevent war and to end it as soon as possible once it had broken out, but voted down a resolution calling for the general strike to prevent war.

When the World War came nationalism proved stronger than socialism. While a majority of the socialists in Russia, Serbia, Italy, Roumania, Hungary and the United States opposed the war, large minorities and the great majority in Germany, Austria, England and France supported it. Vandervelde, of Belgium, president of the International, became a member of the Belgian war cabinet. Prominent labor leaders in France and England accepted government offices.

As the war dragged on and the imperialistic aims of both sides became clearer, in all countries the minority opposition groups became stronger. Even the majority groups began to talk of peace and various international conferences of socialists were planned to discuss peace terms. These conferences amounted to little, partly because of the opposition of some socialist leaders, partly because of the refusal of the French and English governments to grant passports to the delegates.

Several years before the war a split had occurred in the Social Democratic party of Russia, the majority or Bolsheviki being the orthodox Marxian left wing group, the minority or Mensheviki favoring a moderate policy. Most of the Mensheviki supported the World War, while the Bolsheviki actively opposed it, many of their leaders being driven into exile. With the revolution of 1917 the Bolshevik leaders returned and began propaganda against the bourgeois government of Prince Lvov and also against the more liberal government of Kerensky, which wished to make peace only in conjunction with the allies. The Bolsheviki gained control of the soviets, the councils of workers' and soldiers' delegates, and in November, 1917, overthrew the Kerensky government, promising immediate peace, the socialization of all means of production and distribution, including land, and all power to the

soviets. Once in power they proceeded to put socialism into effect in what they believed was true Marxian fashion. All land, natural resources, factories, mines, railways, banks and stores were declared to be the property of the state and were to be managed by the workers for their own benefit. The revolution was maintained by the dictatorship of the proletariat, a ruthless suppression of all opposition. Russia was the first great state to try socialism.

The Russian Revolution caused a crisis in the socialist parties of all countries. The Marxians, now greatly strengthened, demanded that their parties organize and work for an immediate revolution along Russian lines. The moderate elements, while favoring the recognition of the soviet government in Russia and a policy of allowing Russia to work out her own salvation without foreign interference, opposed similar methods in their own countries. Generally the left-wing groups took the name Communist in imitation of the Russian Communist party, the name assumed by the Bolsheviki. The various Communist parties of today are the old Marxian factions reinforced by new elements demanding an immediate revolution by extra-legal means and its maintenance by a dictatorship of the proletariat. In most countries the majority of socialists remained with the moderates. In Germany the majority socialist government suppressed Communist uprisings with great bloodshed. In France and in Italy the Communists won control of the party machinery for a time but later divisions and attacks by the governments weakened them so that they are small but still important groups.

Under the leadership of Russia the Third or Communist International was established at Moscow in 1919. It has always been dominated by Russia and its activities have been along orthodox communist lines—mainly carrying on propaganda for a world revolution. The Second International, rejecting all overtures for reunion with Moscow, in 1920 adopted a strict right-wing program, opposing all violence and extra-legal methods.

The history of the national socialist movements will be told in connection with the political history of the various countries. In general, it may be said that, in spite of factional strife and persecution from various governmental sources, socialism gained by the World War. The immense destruction of wealth has made life harder for millions and has caused the line between capital and labor to be more clearly drawn. During the war every government practiced state socialism, taking over industries and railways to ensure maximum production. The increased production in wartime, with a large proportion of the workers withdrawn to the battlefields, answered the argument of the great efficiency of the competitive system. Many workers asked, "If the government can conscript life, why not wealth too?"

The failure of Russia to realize its dream of a communist commonwealth, whether this has been due to the inherent fallacies of socialism or to the hostility of the rest of the world, has sobered socialists everywhere. They have come to realize that socialism, to be established, must not only be able to prove its soundness but be able to do so with the rest of the world hostile. They realize that the millenium cannot be brought about by phrases. They have become more practical, more opportunist, less viissionary, less dogmatic. While many have been led to despair of parliamentary action the socialist commonwealth, established by parliamentary methods, is still the ideal of millions of workers.

ANARCHISM

While Marx emphasized the importance of the state, others, working on the same problem, arrived at the conclusion that the abolition of the capitalist system could come only through stripping the state of most of its powers. Such was the idea of Pierre Joseph Proudhon, the founder of anarchism. In his famous book *What Is Property?*, published in 1840, he arrived at the startling conclusion that "property is theft."

Communism, however, was no solution, for while capitalism was the exploitation of the weak by the strong, communism was the exploitation of the strong by the weak. The evil of property was not in property itself but in the income which men secured from it. To abolish this income Proudhon proposed to establish a bank without capital which would issue paper money, based on values created by labor, without interest. When capital was thus freely placed at the disposal of everyone, all goods could be freely used by everyone and all class distinctions would disappear. Since the aim of government is to check the oppression of the weak by the strong, all government would be unnecessary. Proudhon's explanation of the details of the working of his system is vague, but they have been made somewhat more definite by the writings of Bakunin and Kropotkin, two Russian noblemen who, after Proudhon, are the main proponents of anarchism.

The anarchist pictures a society of free associations, which anyone may enter or leave as he chooses, in which the natural human instinct of mutual help and the strength of public opinion, freed from all debasing influences of present-day institutions, will be sufficient to preserve order and maintain production. Proudhon had great confidence in the innate goodness and reasonableness of man. He believed that the ideal society could be brought about by a process of education and by appealing to man's better instincts. He was an extreme pacifist, opposing violence in every form, and abhorred Marx's doctrine of the class struggle. Later writers, however, especially Bakunin, face to face with the ignorance of the Russian masses and the intolerant tyranny of the Russian government, became impatient and advocated violence as a means of ushering in the anarchist society. Proudhon had considerable influence in France in the forties but his ideas were gradually supplanted by those of Marx. While anarchism has never gained the following among workers that socialism has, it has had no little influence on socialist thought and it is the principal basis of modern syndicalism and guild socialism.

SYNDICALISM

Syndicalism is a cross between socialism and anarchism. It developed in France in the eighties, deriving its name from the French work for labor union, *syndicat*. Syndicalists accept the Marxian doctrine of the class struggle and aim at the overthrow of the capitalist system. They would substitute for capitalism not the collective ownership by society as a whole, but ownership of each industry by the organized workers in that industry. They are concerned with man as a producer rather than as a consumer and take no part in politics, asserting that political power is dependent on economic power. They advocate the formation of unions on industrial rather than trade lines, which shall carry on a constant warfare against capitalism through the boycott, the strike and sabotage. Sabotage, sometimes defined as the "strike on the job," consists in doing poor work, spoiling work already done or crippling machinery. The final overthrow of capitalism is to be brought about by a general strike which will put the worker in control of all industries and abolish the political state. The workers in each industry will then have complete control over their own affairs and differences between industries will be settled by a congress of representatives from each national industry. This revolutionary unionism gained many followers in France and after 1900 spread to other countries. The Industrial Workers of the World in the United States is a syndicalist organization.

GUILD SOCIALISM

Recently there has developed in England an attempt to combine syndicalism and socialism. The proponents of this plan call themselves guild socialists or national guildsmen. They advocate complete control of each industry by the workers in that industry organized into guilds. According to their scheme a guild congress made up of representatives from the national guilds will settle differences between the guilds

and control all matters affecting industry and trade, while a second congress elected from geographical districts will represent the people as consumers, dealing with such matters as education, foreign relations, etc. The guild socialists have several able spokesmen, among them G. D. H. Cole, A. R. Orage and S. G. Hobson, whose books and pamphlets have attracted considerable attention. Their influence may be seen in the growing demand for control of industry by the workers.

COOPERATION

Another movement which in its attitude toward the state and its belief in freedom for the individual is similar to anarchism is the consumers' cooperative movement. The strength of the cooperators is, however, not in their theories but in their practical accomplishments. Robert Owen's scheme was essentially a cooperative one, but attempts of various cooperative stores to put his elaborate theories into practice had failed. In 1843, twenty-three weavers of Rochdale, England, anxious to reduce their expenses in a period of hard times, raised one pound each and started a cooperative grocery. Their plan differed in two important details from those of previous stores. Each shareholder had one vote and only one, no matter how many shares he might hold. Goods were sold at the current market prices and after operating expenses, including a fixed rate of interest on invested capital, had been paid, the surplus was divided quarterly among the members, not, however, in proportion to the amount of stock held but in proportion to the amount of goods purchased.

The Rochdale store prospered. Others sprang up in the neighborhood, organized on a similar basis, and the idea spread to neighboring counties. Soon the competition of the cooperative stores began to affect privately owned stores and pressure was brought to bear upon wholesalers not to sell to cooperators. Accordingly the cooperators started a wholesale of their own with stock held by the retail stores and savings

distributed among them according to purchases. In time the wholesale found manufacturers, anxious to maintain friendly relations with privately owned stores, unwilling to sell to them, and so went into manufacturing. In 1924 there were in Great Britain 1,445 retail cooperative societies with a total membership of 4,752,636, representing approximately three-sevenths of all the families of the country. The total business of the retail societies in 1924 was 281,950,901 pounds. Cooperative enterprise has expanded till it owns and operates factories for the manufacture of practically every consumable commodity, farms, mines, steamship lines and Indian tea plantations. It conducts a banking and insurance business, has developed extensive housing schemes, and provides medical care, education and recreation in various forms for its members. In spite of this wide extension of functions the idea of local control has been maintained. Each member of a cooperative society has a voice in the affairs of his society and each society remains in full control of its own affairs.

Consumers' cooperation has spread until there is hardly a civilized country without a cooperative movement. It is especially strong in the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Russia. In Belgium the social side of the movement has been particularly developed. *Maisons du peuple* (People's Houses), located in every large town throughout the country, are the centers of social life in which Belgian workers provide themselves with cafes, theatres, playgrounds, gymnasiums, health centers, day nurseries and social clubs, owned and controlled by the people who use them.

While the concrete accomplishments of the cooperative movement, rather than its theories, have attracted the workers, it is by no means merely a plan for saving money on groceries and clothes. Although cooperators do not believe in the class struggle and insist that man's function as a consumer is more important than his function as a producer, like the socialists, they look forward to the overthrow of the capitalist system. For it they would substitute the cooperative commonwealth, to be brought about, not through politics, but

by the gradual extension of voluntary cooperative enterprise until all industries are owned and operated by cooperators. These self-governing cooperative associations would provide their members not only with the services now provided by capitalistic institutions but also with many of those now provided by the state, thus reducing the state to an insignificant position.

SOCIAL CATHOLICISM

Socialism does not concern itself with religion and its apologists declare that there is nothing in its doctrines that should interfere with anyone's religion, be he Christian, Jew or atheist. The irreligious attitude of many prominent socialists, however, and the charge made by others that the Christian church tries to make men submit to bad conditions here, with the promise of happiness hereafter, has brought about the feeling among many devout Christians that socialism is definitely contrary to the teachings of the church. In addition, many Christians, both Catholic and Protestant, believe that the socialist doctrine of the class struggle is anti-Christian. Realizing at the same time the evils and injustices of the existing economic regime, Christians have at various times attempted to bring about a reconciliation between socialism and Christianity. The earliest of these schemes was that of the Christian Socialists which started in England in 1848. A group of followers of Robert Owen, among them Thomas Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, and Charles Kingsley, the novelist, started several "self-governing workshops," cooperative associations owned and operated by the workers themselves. For a time these producers' cooperatives worked with the consumers' cooperative associations, but after several of them had failed, it became evident that the two ideas were incompatible and, left to their own devices, the producers' cooperatives soon died out. The later activities of the Christian Socialists in England were confined mainly to attempts to introduce systems of profit sharing into capitalist-owned factories.

In recent times there has arisen in France and spread to other continental countries a movement known as Social Catholicism, an attempt on the part of the Roman Catholic Church to have the Church itself take the lead in promoting social reform. Although several Catholic writers in the early part of the nineteenth century, repelled both by the evils of capitalism and the doctrines of the socialists, preached the duty of the Church to interest itself in social problems, they met with little favor from the officials headed by Pope Pius IX, to whom, embittered by his experiences with the revolution of 1848 in Rome, revolution, socialism and even democracy was anathema. Prominent Catholics, however, in France and elsewhere, continued to advocate social reform, and Pope Leo XIII, who ascended the throne in 1878, adopted a more liberal attitude toward the question, culminating in the encyclical letter *Rerum Novarum* in 1891 and the letter to French Catholics in 1892 calling upon them to support the Republic. This opened the way, in 1899, for the formation of the Popular Liberal Party in France under the leadership of Count Albert de Mun, a nobleman who had devoted his life to the formation of Catholic workingmen's clubs and to advocating social reform in parliament. The Popular Liberal Party has advocated a program of radical reconstruction without revolution, including control of industry through unions in which both capital and labor are represented, social insurance, minimum wage legislation, factory laws, taxation of wealth and a complete democratization of government. The party advocates the preservation of private property so far as it is compatible with moral law and social welfare. It grew rapidly, having a dues-paying membership of 250,000 and a voting strength of 750,000 before the war. In the election of 1920 it won one hundred seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

Social Catholicism has also made rapid progress in other countries. The German Center Party, advocating a program of social reforms only slightly less radical than that of the socialists, has been a factor in German politics for forty years, and its importance has increased during and since the war.

In Italy the recently formed Popular Party, with a program of immediate reforms no less radical than the socialists, was one of the strongest parties in parliament before all parties were disorganized by the Fascists. Social Catholicism is still a comparatively new movement; important elements in the Roman Catholic Church are still opposed to its more radical demands; but the conversion of a large part of the clergy, who have a powerful influence over great masses of workers both in city and country, to a program of radical social reform seems destined to be of great influence on the labor movement as a whole.

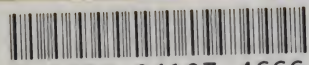
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